To the Reader.

THIS small Volume is intended, for those who cannot purchase a greater, and yet would willingly be informed of the remarkable Transactions, & Revolutions in these 3 Kingdoms, in this last Age: And within the memory of many now living. And tho' a large Account cannot be expected in this Compendium, *yet I have briefly comprized the most considerable matters that then happened. Which as they are very Stupendous and Surprizing, so the serious perusal of them may be useful, for quieting the present Discontents among us. Our condition being then much like that of the* Romans *during their Civil Wars, of which the* Poet Lucian *thus sings (with a little Variation.)*

Wars more than Civil on the British Plains
Then happened; and England now Distains.
In her own Bowels her Victorious Swords;
Where Kindred Hosts Encounter; all Accords
Of Empire broke; where arm'd to Impious War.
The strength of all the shaken Land from far
Is met, known Ensigns, Ensigns do defie,
Fathers by Sons, and Sons by Fathers die.
What fury Country-men, what madness cou'd
Move you to feast your Foes with English blood,
And chuse such Wars as could no Triumphs yield.
Whilst yet proud Babylon unconquered held,
Alas what Seas, what Lands might you have ta'ne.
With that bloods loss which your own hands have drawn.

Let us all therefore Study to be quiet, follow peace with all men, and do our own business as being the most effectual means, for preventing the like Confusions; which is the earnest wish of,

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The Wars in England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *during the Reign of King* Charles *the First.*

BEfore we give an Account of these Unnatural Wars, it may seem necessary to Relate the previous Transactions that were thought to occasion them. March 27. 1625. K. James 1. died at Theobalds in the 59. year of his Age, when he had reigned 22. years. And the same day Charles Prince of Wales his only Son was Proclaimed King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland. The first thing he did, was performing of his Fathers Funeral

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ral, at which the King in person followed as chief Mourner; having his Train of *Black* Velvet, born up by 12 *Peers*, at his right hand the Earl of Arundel, and at his left the E. of Pembroke. He then consummated the Marriage with Henrietta Maria, Daughter of K. Henry 4 of France. The King called a Parliament, June 18 following, to whom he represented: The necessity of raising a Subsidy, since it would not agree with his honour to shrink from the War with Spain, which his Father by consent of both Houses had undertaken, tho' prevented by death from putting it in *Execution*: That Money, the sinews of War must be levied, without which neither Army nor Fleet could move, former contributions being already disbursed to a penny: That he should seem ridiculous to all Europe, if he did not now proceed to Action; That it was his first Enterprize, the success whereof would have great influence upon his following Reign? That it concerned their Reputation to assist him effectually, lest the world should judge them to have betrayed their King: That Celerity was necessary because of Winter approaching, a season prejudicial to Martial Attempts: and the Pestilence Reigning in the City, which might cause a sudden Dissolution of their Meeting: All which Arguments did demonstrate, it was most Honourable, and safe, to use Expedition. As for Religion and Manner of Government, he was resolved to tread in his Fathers steps, hoping that his former life had ministred no just grounds for them to suspect the contrary.

The Parliament acknowledge a Subsidy necessary, yet would not resolve upon it, till they had presented their two Petitions, concerning Religion, and their sufferings; which points had been offered to his Father K. James in the last Parliament; and by his death left unanswered. In both which having received competent satisfaction, and an account of the Arrears of the Forces by Sea and Land, with an estimate of the future expence of the Spanish War, the K. obtained of the Laity Two Subsidies from Protestants, Four from Papists, and three from

Clergy. In this Parliament Dr. Montague the King's Chaplain was queſtioned for his Anſwer to a Book called the Romiſh Gager; and his defence intituled Appello ad Cæſarem: and being brought to the Bar, the Speaker declared their pleaſure; That they would refer his Cenſure till the next meeting, and in the mean time he ſhould ſtand committed to the Sergeants Ward, till two Thouſand Pound Bail, could be procured for his appearance the next Seſſion:

Divers Laws were Enacted in this Parliament, as one about the Lord's Day; another for reſtraint of Tipling in Inns, Alehouſes, &c. There paſſed likewiſe in the H. of Commons, A Bill for Tunnage and Poundage: but this Miſcarried in the H. of Lords, becauſe limited to a year, whereas it was granted to the Kings Predeceſſors during their lives; and being intended to reduce the Cuſtoms to the Rate they were ſetled at in the Reign of Q. Mary.

At this time the L. Mordant a Papiſt, and his Wife a Proteſtant, being deſirous of each others Converſion, put their cauſe upon a diſpute between J. Uſher A. B. of Armagh, and Rookwood a Jeſuite; this was acted at Drayton in Northamptonſhire: The points diſputed on were, Tranſubſtantiation, Praying to Saints, Images, and the Viſibility of the Church, wherein the Learned Primate ſo foild his Adverſary that the Lord Mordant was converted to the Proteſtant Religion, and his Lady further confirmed therein.

July 11. 1626. the Parliament by reaſon of the ſickneſs, Adjourned till Auguſt 1. and then met at Oxford, where the King firſt, and then his two Secretaries, the L. Conway, and Sir J. Cook declared the neceſſity of ſetting forth a Fleet for recovery of the Palatinate, to P. Palatine who married the Kings Siſter, which was unjuſtly detained from him by the Emp. of Germany, and the K. of Spain; the L. Treaſurer inſtanced the ſeveral Sums of Money in which K. James died indebted to the City of London, This occaſioned warm Debates in the Houſe of Commons, who alledged, 'That civil

Councils

'Councils guided the Kings Designs; That our necessi-
'ties arose through Improvidence: That it would be
'necessary to Petition the King for better Council to ma-
'nage his Affairs; That though a former Parliament en-
'gaged the King in a War, yet if things were managed
'with contrary designs, and the Treasure misemployed,
'this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold
'into Designs nor guided by sound Counsel: That it was
'not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Par-
'liament, and no Grievances redressed. They likewise reflected upon the miscarriages of the D. of Buckingham who was then a person of considerable Trust: yet they promised to consider of the Kings desires, and present a Petition against Popish Recusants, ascribing certain causes of their growth, and offering remedies thereto; unto which an answer was returned: and hereupon a Debate about Supplies followed: some were for contributing, others demurr'd, as disliking the design in hand; but the Major part agreed not to give: And being incensed against the *D.* of Buckingham, they think of divesting him of his Offices, and to have an account of the publick monies he had been intrusted with: intending to include all in an humble remonstance: to prevent which the King resolved to dissolve the Parliament; and the Usher of the Black Rod was sent from the House of Lords to the Commons, who were then in a Grand Committee, and caused the *Speaker* to keep his Seat, while they agreed upon a Message of thanks to the King for his Gracious Answer to their Petition for Religion, and for his care of their Health, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous time of sickness; with a Declaration of their affectionate *Loyalty* & purpose to serve him in a Parliamentary way, in convenient time: After which they were dissolved.

Now the War with Spain being intended, the Council resolve to set forth a Fleet, and to preserve peace with France, and Denmark. With the Hollanders the K. had already entred into a League against the House of Austria, and promised to sollicit other Princes to

enter into it; upon condition they ſhould bear a Fourth part of the Charge. In perſuance hereof, the D. of Buckingham and the E. of Holland were ſent to the Hague, and meeting with the Ambaſſadors of France and Denmark, concluded a League for reſtoring the Liberties of Germany; the two laſt Ambaſſadors having no farther Power from their Supreams.

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, Commanding the return of all Children of Noblemen, ſent to be educated in Seminaries and Popiſh Schools beyond Sea, That none who had Orders from Rome, ſhould Preſume to confer Orders or Exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions and for the departure of Prieſts and Jeſuites, out of his Dominions. By the diſſolving the Parliament, the Act of Subſidies being prevented; the King directs Letters to the L. Lieutenants of the Counties, 'To return the Names of thoſe 'they thought moſt ſufficient to lend Mony, the places 'of their Habitations, and what Sums each might be 'judged able to lend; To whom Letters were iſſued 'forth in the Kings Name to this purpoſe. 'That having 'obſerved the Kings and Queens of this Realm upon 'extraordinary occaſions uſed to reſort to the generality 'of their Subjects, or to the private helps of ſome well 'affected to them, by way of Loan:

'Tho' the King did not doubt the affection of his Peo-'ple in Parliament, yet at preſent he was inforced to the 'other courſe for Supply of Money, for divers neceſſa-'ry and publick ſervices. And this being the firſt time 'of his requiring it, He did not doubt the readineſs of 'his Subjects, the ſumm being ſuch as few would deny a 'friend: And what they lent, he promiſed to repay in '18 Months.

And the Collectors were to return the Names of ſuch as delay'd or excuſed the payment of ſuch ſums as were demanded of them. In Octobe rthe Fleet ſet to Sea, the L. Cecil Son to the E. of Exeter, commanding the Land Forces, the E. of Eſſex being Vice Admiral at Sea; but by a violent ſtorm, the greateſt part of the Navy in

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all 80. Ships, some being Dutch, were scattered, and one with 170 Passengers cast away, the Design was to surprize Cadiz in Spain, to burn the Ships in the Harbour and to take the Spanish Plate Fleet, dayly expected from the Indies: but by the Plague among them, and some miscarriages of the Commanders, the busines was disappointed, and the Fleet returned home but four days before the Plate Fleet came.

February 2. was the Coronation, at which the King did not pass through the City from the Tower, as usual, but went from Whitehall to Westminster, for fear of the concourse of people, the Pestilence which raged the year before not being ceased: The Bishop of Lincoln as Dean of Westminster, should have performed the chief part of the Ceremony, but being under displeasure, Dr. Laud then B. of St Davids supplyed his place: Divers Forces, had been raised both for Sea and Land, for Disciplining of whom 150 old Souldiers were sent from the Neitherlands. The next Parliament met Feb. 6. And the Commons chose Sir Henry Finch Speaker. The first busines was rendring thanks to the King for his gracious answer to their late Petition concerning Religion; then they debated the publick Grievances, *viz.* 'The miscarrying of the Fleet at Cadiz: The evil 'Councellors about the King, misimploying the Revenue, 'an account of the Subsidies and three Fifteens, granted 'in the 21 of K. James 1. And in the Committee of Grie-'vances, these four particulars were insisted on, 1. The 'state of the Kingdom in the constant revenue of the 'Crown, and how it had been diminished by Gifts of 'Lands, Grants of Pensions, Fruitless Embassies, the 'Privy purse and other ways. 2. The condition of a 'Subject in his Freedom, about laying new Impositions, 'multiplying Monopolies, Levying Customs without an 'Act of Parliament, 3. The Cause of the Nations good 'success formerly, whereby it was Renowned and Victo-'rious abroad, which they judged was occasion'd by the 'Wisdom of Counsel, who ordered nothing but by pub-'lick Debate, whereby there arose a readiness in the

'People to Assist their Soveraign in Purse and Person.
'4. The present Condition of the Kingdom, with the 'loss of its Reputation, by the ill success at Algier, in 'the Palatinate, in Count Mansfields Expedition, and at 'Cadiz; and this was imputed to the want of such 'Counsels as were formerly used; since for fear of not 'succeeding, men were afraid of venturing either their 'Persons or purses.. There was likewise a Committee concerning Religion and the growth of Popery, wherein Mr. Rich. Montagues two Books were again questioned, and Articles were drawn up, charging him with several Passages for encouraging Popery, and drawing his Majesties Subjects from the true Religion into Errour and Superstition, with other Passages dishonourable to the late King, and full of railing Language against other Persons; That he endeavoured to raise Factions, by casting the Scandalous Name of Puritan upon such as conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of England. Upon which the Commons ordered he should suffer Exemplary Punishment, and have his books burnt; nor do we find that ever he made any defence, or Answer to the Articles brought against him

The Commons questioned several of the Council of War, upon the Affairs of the Palatinate; Complaint was made likewise against the Scotch and Irish Nobility for claiming precedency of the Peers of England; of which redress was promised; The L. Martrevers eldest Son and Heir to the E. of Arundel, Married the Daughter of the Duke of Lenox, contrary to the Kings Mind, who intended her for the L. Lorn, Son and Heir to the E. of Argile; whereupon the E. of Arundel was committed to the Tower; The Peers Petitioned the King, That no Peer sitting in Parliament, is to be imprisoned without Order from the House of Lords, unless for Felony, Treason, or denying to give security for the Peace. Upon this arose a dispute, which lasted two Months, and then the Earl was set at Liberty. In which time the Commons were busie in searching the Signet Office for Letters under the Signet, to the Mayor of York, for reprieving

reprieving divers Jesuits, Priests, and other Popish Recusants: This was reported by Mr. Pym Chairman to the Committee for Religion; but there Proceedings were interrupted by a Message from the King, by Sir R. Weston Chancellor of the Exchequer, demanding a Supply for the English and Irish Forces. This was so highly resented, that Mr. Clement Cook, Protested, It was better to die by a Forreign Enemie, than to be destroyed at home; and Dr. Turner another of the House seconded him with these Queries.

1. 'Whether the King had not lost the Regali of 'the Narrow Seas since the D. of Buckingham was Ad- 'miral? 2. Whether his going Admiral in this last Fleet, 'was not the cause of its ill success, and return without 'any considerable Action? 3. Whether the Kings Trea- 'sure hath not been impaired by the Dukes Immense 'Liberality? 4. Whether he hath not Ingrossed all Offi- 'ces, and preferred his Kindred to most places? 5. Whe- 'ther he hath not sold places of Judicature. 6 Whe- 'ther Popish Recusants have not dependence upon his 'Mother and Father in Law. This so provoked the King, that he sent Sir. R. Weston to demand satisfaction of the H. of Commons; whereupon Dr. Turner made a Speech in Vindication of himself, alledging, 'That what he had 'said was for the good of the Kingdom, and not reflec- 'ing upon any one in particular. That to accuse upon 'common Fame, he thought to be a *Parliamentary* way 'and Warranted by the Cannons of the Church, the Im- 'perial Laws, and by ancient *Presidents:* the Duke of 'Suffolk in K. Hen. sixths time, having been accused by 'common Fame. He added likewise, That Mr. Chan- 'cellor himself had presented some persons upon particu- 'lar Fame, and that he knew no reason why he might 'not in that place have as ample Privilledge; the further debate of the matter being referred, Dr. Turner writ a Letter to the Speaker to excuse his absence by indispo- sition, and to signifie his desire of putting himself wholly upon the Judgement and censure of Parliament.

Sir. William Waller speaking of Grievances, said 'That

'That the true Cause of them, was, because (as was 'said of Lewis the 11th. of France) all the Kings Coun-'cil Rode upon one Horse, and that his Majesty was to 'be advised, as Moses was by Jethro, to make choice 'of Councellors, to assist him that should be thus quali-'fied. 1. Noble, not Upstarts, and of a Nights growth. '2. Men of Courage, such as would execute their own 'places, and not commit them to undeserving Deputies. '3. Fearing God, not inclining to false Worship or hal-'ting between two Opinions. 4. Dealing truly, not gi-'ven to Flattery, or fawning Courtship; but such as 'might be safely trusted by the King and Kingdom. '5. Hating Covetousness, not such as lived upon other 'Men, or that would take Bribes or sell places in Church 'or State, or about the King. 6. To be many, in the mul-'titude of Counsellors there being safety. 7. To Judge 'of small matters as well as great, The greatest not be-'ing to be referr'd to the King, much less to any one 'Counsellor alone to manage all business. 8. Elders, not 'young unexperienced Men, by whose rash and unad-'vised proceedings, great Designs many times miscarry.'

Sir John Elliot, represented to the House, the Pre-sent State of the Nation, and the great dishonour the King and Kingdom had sustained by several miscarriages and ill management of Matters of the highest Trust; mentioning Two Presidents, the first of Hen. 3. when the Parliament denied Subsidies, till the great Officers were examined; and Hugh de Burg being found guilty of Corruption was displaced. And in the tenth of Richard 2. when a Supply was required, the Commons complaining that the E. of Suffolk over ruled all, said they could not give. Yet the House taking the Kings necessities into Consideraion, Voted Three Subsidies, and three Fifteens, and that the Bill should be brought in when the Grievances were redressed; and on account of the Duke of Buckingham's misimploying the Revenue, and ordered the Duke should have notice of their Intensions.

But the King observing they did not make such hast

as he expected, to answer his last Message, Summons both Houses; and by the L. Keeper complains of their not punishing Dr. Turner, and Mr. Cook, and for searching his Signet Office, justifying the Duke of Buckingham to have acted nothing in publick without his special Warrant, forbidding them to meddle any further therein, he looking upon it to be Libelling his Government. Lastly he blamed them for being too sparing in the Supply, and for Ordering the Bill not to be brought in till their Grievances were answered, which he would not admit of: The King adding, 'He must put them in 'mind that his Father moved by their Counsel & persua-'sions, broke the Treaties: and that himself was their 'Instrument to his Father, and was glad to be Instru-'mental in any thing which might please the whole Body 'of the Realm, nor was there any then in greater Fa-'vour than the Duke, whom they now traduced; but 'that now finding him so far intangled in a War, 'that he could make no honourable nor safe Retreat, 'they made necessity their Priviledge, and set what rate 'they pleased upon their Supplies, a Practice not very 'obliging toward Kings: and whereas Mr. Cook told 'them, That it was better for them to die by a Forreign 'Enemy,' than to be destroyed at home: He thought it 'to be more Honourable for a King to be Invaded, and 'almost destroyed by a Forreign Enemy, than to be de-'spised at home. After this at a Conference of both 'Houses in the painted Chamber, the D. of Buckingham 'was commanded by the King, to explain some expres-'sions in his and the L. Keepers Speeches, which might 'be subject to misunderstanding, which the Duke per-'formed; and gave a large Account of his Negotiation 'in the Low Countries; and the Lord Conway discour-'sed of all the Treaties with Denmark and France, 'and the business of the Navy, affirming they were not 'done by single Counsel since K. James himself com-'manded it.

The Commons in answer to the Kings Speech, pre-sented a Remonstrance, That they gratefully acknow-ledged

ledged His Majesties Expressions of affection to his People and Parliament; That they had taken Mr. Cooks and Dr. Turners words into consideration, and might have given a good account thereof by this time, if his Majesties Message had not interrupted them; That they had the Presidents of former Parliaments for searching the Letters of his Majesty his Secretary of State, the Signet Office and other Records upon the like occasions; That it was the unquestionable Priviledge of Parliaments to complain of any Person of any degree, and their proceedings in relation to the Duke should not prejudice either Crown or Kingdom: That they were willing to supply his Necessities Liberally, if Additions might be made of other things which concerned his Service, and were now in consultation among them. The K. returned this short Answer, 'That he would have 'them first Consult about matters of greatest Importance 'and that they should have time enough for other things 'afterward. The Earl of Bristol being ordered by the King to be examined by a Committee of Lords of his Negotiation in Spain, and having been in Prison, and prohibited access to the K. ever since his return, received a Letter from the Lord Conway, propounding to him this Choice, 'Whether he would be quiet, and not 'be questioned for what was past and enjoy the benefit 'of the late Gracious Pardon, or whether he would stand 'upon his Justification, To which he answered, That he did humbly acknowledge and accept of His Majesties Grace and Favour; And at the same time he Petitioned the Lords for his Liberty or to come to a Tryal; who applying themselves to the King, he granted a Writ for the Earls coming to Parliament with a Proviso, That his Personal Attendance should be forborn; The Earl sent another Petition to the Lords that he might be heard, both as to his Restraint, and against the Duke. The King signified to the Lords it was his Royal pleasure the Earl of Bristol should as a Delinquent answer his Offences to the House, and his scandalizing the D. of Buckingham and himself likewise by Reflection. Upon this

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the Earl was brought to the Bar, and being ready to be Impeached of High Treason by the Attorney General, he besought their Lordships, 'That as he was a Free-'man and a Peer of this Realm untainted, and had 'something to say of high Consequence to his Majesties 'Service, he might have liberty to speak. Which being granted, he said, I accuse that Man, the Duke of Buckingham of High Treason, Upon this unexpected procedure of the Earl, the Attorney General drew up a Charge against him of 11 Articles, of divers Natures, The Earl gave a large Account of Buckinghams Proceedings, and perferred 12 Articles against him; and Eleven against the L. Conway: the Earl likewise Answered every Article of his own Impeachment. Whilst these Peers were contesting, the H. of Commons presented an Impeachment to the Lords against the Duke, of twelve Articles, to each of which the Duke made replies. 'The last was, That the Duke being a sworn Servant 'to the late King, did provide certain Plaisters and Po-'tions for K. James in his last Sickness without the Pri-'vity of his Physicians, and tho' when formerly applyed 'they produced such ill Effects, as many of his Sworn 'Physicians did disallow, yet the Duke did apply them 'again; whereupon dangerous Symptoms appeared in 'him, which the Phisicians imputed to those Administra-'tions of the Duke, whereof his late Majesty also com-'plained: which is an Offence and Misdemeanour of so 'high a Nature as may be called an Act of Transcendent 'Presumption: And the Commons pray that the Duke 'may be put to answer the Premises, and that Proceed-'ings may be upon every one had, agreable to Law and 'Justice. The Duke excused the matter, alledging that 'they were brought the King in his absence; that they 'had formerly cured him of an Ague, of which the K. 'was now sick, &c. But the sudden dissolving the Par-'liament prevented the further prosecuting this, and the 'other Articles.

The K earnestly pressed the H. of Commons for a speedy Supply by their Speaker, Sir H. Finch, telling them

them, 'That if there did not pass a Bill of Subsidy by 'the end of the week, it would enforce him to take o-'ther Resolutions; and if by their denyal and delay any 'thing of ill consequence should fall out either at home 'or abroad, he called God and Man to witness, that he 'had done his part to prevent it, by calling his People 'together to advise with him; whose sitting (if they di-'spatched this according to his desire) he resolved to 'continue for the dispatch of other Affaires; and after 'their Recess to bring them again together the next 'Winter. Before the Commons sent an Answer, they drew up a Petition: That he would please to Remove from all places of Trust and Authority, all such Persons as were either Popish Recusants, or according to the direction of former Acts of State, justly suspected to be such. And sent the Names of all such Noblemen and others in places of Trust in the several Counties. The Answer to the Articles against the Duke, being by himself delivered to the Lords, he desired their Lordships to send to the Commons for a speedy Reply; who required a Copy of his Answer. But the Duke fearing the Effect, humbly intreated the Lords to allow him the benefit of the general Pardon, granted by K. James in Parliament in the 21 year of his Reign and likewise that of the Coronation, Then the Commons drew up another Declaration against the Duke, at which the King being incensed, dissolved the Parliament next day, June 15. 1626. and committed the Earl of Bristol to the Tower, publishing a Proclamation for burning all Copies of the Declaration, and a Declaration of the Reasons of his dissolving this and the former Parliament. Then several ways were resolved on for advancing the Kings Revenue, and care was taken by the Council for levying Customs upon all Merchandizes, as being intended by the two last Parliaments, but prevented by their dissolution. The Forfeitures of Papists which had been misimployed, were now taken into a strict Account; Privy Seals were issued out, Benevolence proposed, a Commission signed for a general Loan, as the most conveni-

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ent Method, since the state of affairs admitted not of a Parliament; and Instructions were given to the Commissioners how to manage the business, which upon their Allegiance they were commanded to keep secret.

Some Souldiers returned from Cadiz, were Quartered in the Countries, and Money was raised for them, which made this Loan the more unwelcome; and Sir Rand. Crew for not appearing vigorous in promoting the Loan, was displaced from being *L.* Chief Justice, and Sir Nich. Hyde put in his place. The B. of Lincoln was informed against in the Star Chamber by Sir J. *Lamb.* and Dr. Sybthorp, for speaking against the *Loan*, and seeming to favour the Puritans.

Several occasions at this time required Supplies of Mony, for besides the *Palatinate*, there was probability of a War with France upon this occasion. K. Lewis the 13. had borrowed of the King, a Man of War called the Vanguard, and six other Merchant Ships in pursuance of a design against Italy, upon condition they should not be imployed against the Protestants at Rochel; there having been an Agreement lately made between them and their King by the Mediation of the English Ambassador: But M. Soubize, a Protestant taking the Advantage of the French Armies going into Italy, got some small Ships together & surprized the Isle of Rhee, and some Ships in the Harbour: The French K. being offended, turns his whole design from Italy to Rochel; and with seven English Ships under Adm. Pennington, Twenty Dutch Ships and the French Navy, furiously falls upon to *Subize* and forceth him to the Isle of Oleron: The King concerned at this Action demanded satisfaction, which the French deferring to give, he seized a rich French Ship, and the French K. arrested the Goods of the English Merchants worth Three Hundred Thousand Pounds; but at length all was reconciled and restored on both sides.

Thus all seemed quiet till the Queens Priests and Confessor made another Rupture; who imposed upon her to wait upon his Servants at dinner, nay to walk on Foot

in a Rainy Morning from Somerset-House to St. James's and thence to Tyburn Gallows, to pray for the Souls of some Jesuits, Executed there, her Confessor riding by in a Coach. For these Arrogancies, the Queens French Servants, were discharged, and sent home: Upon which the French Arrested the Ships of the English Merchants at Blay-Castle, which was so ill resented that the K. resolved upon a Breach with France: The English Fleet under the L. Willoughby, sent to aid the Rochellers, were so scattered by a Storm, that they could scarce get into Harbour.

The Assessment of the Loan was generally opposed, so the People of the lower Rank were ordered to appear in the Military Yard near St. Martins in the Fields; before the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be *Listed* for *Souldiers*; that those who refused to assist with their Purses should be forced to serve in Person; Others of better Quality were bound to appear at the Council Table; several were committed to the Fleet, Marshalsea, Gatehouse, and other Prisons, and among them Sir John Elliot, who Petitioned the K. and repeated many Presidents, 'That all manner of Aids and Taxes in former 'Kings Reigns were never levied but by the general con-'sent of the Nobility and Commons assembled in Parli-'ament. However he was committed to the Gatehouse and Sir P. Hayman commanded to serve in the Palatinate which after he had settled his Estate he did. Dr. Sybthorp and Dr. Manwaring two Eminent Court Chaplains preached up the Loan; one asserting, 'That the Prince 'hath Power by his Council to make Laws, and that 'Subjects if they cannot exhibit Active Obedience, in 'Case the thing commanded be against the Law of God, 'or Nature, or impossible, yet they ought to yield Pas-'sive Obedience; and in all other Cases were bound to 'Active Obedience The other Affirmed, That the 'Kings Royal Command in Imposing Loans and Taxes 'though without Common Consent in Parliament, did 'Oblige the Subjects Conscience upon pain of *Eternal* 'Damnation. Which Doctrine being entertain'd by the

Coun

Court with applauſe, the Sermon of Sybthorps called Apoſtolick Obedience, was approved of by B. Laud, and an expreſs Command ſent from the King to A. B. Abbot to Licenſe it, which he refuſed, who having been under diſfavour before, was now Suſpended from his See and a Commiſſion granted to five Biſhops, to Execute his Office; After which the *Biſhop* publiſhed a Narrative of the Cauſe of his Suſpenſion. Five of thoſe Gentlemen Impriſoned abont the Loan, had their Habeas Corpus granted, and were brought before Sir N. Hyde, L. Chief Juſtice: where, after arguing the Caſe by Council. the L. Chief Jnſtice concluded. That ſince they were Committed by the Kings Authority, the Court could not free them; ſo they were remanded to Priſon, till the Order for a General Releaſe. The Iriſh Papiſts in hope of Remiſſion of the Penal Laws, offered to furniſh the King with 5000 Foot and 500 Horſe, and other large contributions which was oppoſed in England by Sir J *Savil*, and in Ireland by the L. Primate of Armagh and others, as tending to preſerve the Papiſt Intereſt, and ſink the Proteſtant; upon which the L. Deputy moved the Primate to endeavour to prevail with the Proteſtants to ſupply the Kings Neceſſities: which he attempted in a learned Speech, tho' without Succeſs.

In 1627. the D. of Buckingham to clear his Reputation as to Negligence in his Admiralſhip, with much ado compleated his Naval Forces, conſiſting of 6000 Horſe and Foot in Ten Ships Royal, and 90 Merchant-Men & ſet ſail from Portſmouth, June 27, publiſhing a Manifeſto of the Kings affection to the Reformed Churches in France, and his diſpleaſure againſt the laſt miſimploying of his Ships againſt Rochel. But by ſeveral Accidents this great Deſign miſcarried, with the Death of 2000 Common Soldiers, Thirty Perſons of Note, and 44 Colours loſt: But tho this Expedition miſcarried yet a great F. Ship was taken upon the Coaſts of Holland Laden with Ammunition and, Sir John Pennington took 36 Rich French Merchant-Men, which he brought into England.

England. The poor Remains of the Army from the Isle of Rhee, most Irish and Scots, and consequently rude and boisterous, were quartered in the Country Villages, and very troublesome to the People. At this time the Exchequer was low, several Enterprizes miscarried, and the Rochellers were more distressed than ever, the causes of which Evils were represented by Sir Rob. Cotton to several Lords of the Council; so it was resolved a Parliament should be called, and Writs were issued out. A Commission passed the great Seal, for raising Monies in Nature of an Excise; and the L. Treasurer was ordered to pay Thirty Thousand Pound to P. Burmelack, a Dutch Merchant, to be returned to Sir W. Balfour and J. Dalbier in the Low Countries, for raising 1000 Horse; which caused jealousies, as if designed to enforce the Payment of the Excise. Some Jesuits being apprehended in an house at Clerkenwell, designed for a Colledge of that Order, a Letter was found discovering their secret Designs for embroiling Church and State. March 17th. 1627. the Parliament Assembled, the Commons chusing Sir J. Finch Speaker; the King telling the two Houses, 'That the greatness of the danger required a 'speedy Supply, and that they might rest assured it was 'the Principal cause of their meeting; wherein he hopes 'they will shew themselves such true Patriots of the 'true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, 'and the just defence of their Friends and Allies, now 'in hazard by Popish Enemies, as not to deceive his Ex-'pectations, which were very great, though indeed 'somewhat nipt, by remembrance of the Distractions 'of the last Meeting. The L. Keeper inforc'd the Kings Speech, earnestly pressing them to consider of some speedy way for Supplying his Majesties Necessities. Before the Parliament began any debate, a Letter came directed To the Members of the House of Commons, called, A Speech without Doors; discovering the Grievances of the State, from a Member of the former Parliament. The Commons instantly fell upon Grievances and the Case of those Gentlemen, who for refusing the

Loan

Loan, notwithstanding their Habeas Corpus, were Remanded to Prison; after a long debate about the Illegality of the *Loan*, and their Imprisonment, the L. C. Justice Hyde and other Judges, justified their *Proceedings*, alledging; 'That if they had granted them Bail, it 'would have reflected upon the King, as if he had unjustly imprisoned them: *But* in conclusion it was resolved in the House of Commons Nemine Contradicente: 1. That no man ought to be restrained by the Command of the King or Privy Council, without some Cause of the Commitment. 2. That the Writ of Habeas 'Corpus ought to be granted upon request to every man 'that is restrained, though by Command of the King, 'the Privy Council or any other. 3. If a Freeman be Imprisoned, & no cause of Commitment expressed, and be returned on an Habeas Corpus granted for the party, then 'he ought to be delivered or Bailed. Then the Parliament drew up a Petition against Popish Recusants. 1. 'That all Laws against Jesuits and Popish Priests, be put 'in Execution; 2. That a strict Course be taken for 'Apprehending and discovering them. 3. That all 'Popish Recusants be prohibited coming to Court, or 'within ten Miles of London 4. That no place of 'Trust or Authority be committed to Popish Recusants This was presented by the Lords and Commons to the King, who gave such a Satisfactory Answer that Five Subsidies were granted: Upon which he sent word, He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted: A Petition was then presented against Quartering Souldiers in the Countries, to which the King promised an answer in convenient time. The Commons fell upon the memorable Petition of Right, and after several Members had delivered their Opinions concerning some Clauses in it, the Lords agree that without any Addition or Preface it should be *Presented* to the King; the substance whereof was, That no man hereafter be compelled to any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of *Parliament*, and that none be cal-

led

led to Anſwer, or take ſuch Oath or to give Attendance or be Confined, or otherwiſe be moleſted concerning the ſame, or for Refuſal thereof. 2. That no Freeman be taken and impriſoned, or diſſeiſed of his Freehold of *Liberty*, or his free Cuſtoms, or be Outlawed or exiled, but by the lawful Judgement of his Peers, or by the Laws of the *Land*. 3. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the Soûldiers and Marriners now Billeted in ſeveral Counties; and that your People may not be ſo burdened for the time to come. 4. That the late Commiſſions for proceeding by Martial Law, may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commiſſion of like nature may iſſue forth to any perſon whatſoever, to be executed, leſt by colour of them, any of your Majeſties Subjects be put to death contrary to Law, and the Franchiſes of the Land.

All which we moſt humbly pray your moſt Excellent Majeſty to grant as our Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; And that your Majeſty would alſo vouchſafe to declare, that all *Awards Doings* or *Proceeding* to the prejudice of your Peoples, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example. *After* this came a Letter from the King to the H. of Lords declaring it to be his Royal *Pleaſure*, which, God willing he would ever continue, and maintaine That neither he, nor his Privy Council, ſhould or would hereafter command to Priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrain the Perſons of any for not lending Money, nor for any Cauſe which in his Conſcience did not concern the publick good; nor would he be drawn to pretend any cauſe wherein his judgement was not fully ſatisfied. This Sir T. Wentworth (after E. of Stafford) ſaid, was a Letter of Grace, but that the people were not to be ſatisfied but by a Parliamentary way, That the debate would ſpend much time, That it was not directed to the H. of Commons, and that the Petition it ſelf would rectifie all miſtakes. When the Petition of Right was preſented to the King, this anſwer was returned; The K. willeth that Right be done according to the Laws and

Cuſtoms

till the Duke himself dragged it out, and immediately died. Felton was apprehended and laden with Irons, and being asked what inclined him to commit so horrid an Action; He boldly answered, He killed him for the Cause of God and his Country; He had fastened a Paper in the Crown of his Hat, which intimated, That his only Motive to this *Fact*, was the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his Life in a nobler Cause, than by delivering his Country from so great an Enemy. He was condemned and hanged upon a Gibbet at Portsmouth. Divers Passages seemed to presage the Dukes death, as that his Picture fell down in the High Commission Chamber at Lambeth. That the Lady Davis, reputed a *Phrophetess* had foretold in June, that the Dukes fatal time would not come till August; and lastly that Mr Towerson of the Custom House was charged by a Ghost, resembling the Dukes Father, to tell him, That if he changed not his courses, he should shortly become a great Fairing to the City of London, which was judged to be accomplished by his Death, the day before Bartholomew Fair, 1628. However the Fleet set sail under the E. of Lindsey, and came to the Bar of Rochel Haven where was a wonderful Barricado contrived by Cardinal Richlieu, of 1400 Yards, cross the Channel; yet the E. adventured in, passing the Forts and Outworks, but the Wind changing, drove the Ships upon each other? which unhappy Accident made the Rochellers despair of relief, and surrender the Town; afterwhich the Earl of Lyndsey brought the Fleet home.

The *Parliament* was to have met in October, but by this ill news were again adjourned to January 20. in which time the Merchants refusing to pay Custom, had their goods seized; Complaint whereof being made to the Parliament, the King summons the two Houses and requires them to pass the promised Bill of Tunnage and Poundage for ending all differences, since it was too precious a Jewel of the Crown to be lightly forgone. The Commons Answered, That Gods cause was to be pre-

ed before the Kings, and they would in the first place consult on Religion; and appointed one Committee for Religion and another for Civil Matters; In the last there was a complaint that the *Petition* of Right had been *Printed* with the Kings first Answer only, and not with his last, which was judged Satisfactory: Another complaint about the Customs, and Mr. Rolls a Member of the House affirmed, That it was reported some of the Officers of the Custom House should say, Though all the *Parliament* were in you, we would take your Goods. Mr. Richard Chambers was imprisoned for saying at the Council Table, That such great Customs and Impositions were required of the Merchants of England, as were in no other place, and that they were more screwed up than under the Turk. After which a Form of submission being sent him from the Star Chamber to subscribe his name, he instead of owning it as a fault underwrit these words; All the abovesaid Contents I Richard Chambers do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false: and never to death will acknowledge any part thereof; and quoted divers Scriptures against Oppression and Injustice. As to the *Printing* the *Petition* of Right, the *Printer* was questioned, as for the other, the Farmers of the Customs were challenged to Answer it, but the King excused them, as Acting by his command; yet this not being clear to the *Parliament* they would have proceeded against them as Delinquents; whereupon the King sent them Word, That in honour he could not, nor would give way thereto: Which so incensed the *Parliament*, that they Adjourned for some days, and then meeting again, the King adjourned them further till March 1. Upon which day Sir John Elliot stood up and accused the Lord Treasurer Weston as an Enemy to the English Trade, and designing to Transfer it to Forreigners; which Speech caused a further adjournment to March 10. The Commons inraged blamed their Speaker for admitting the Message, and ordered Sir John Elliot to read their Remonstrance, the Speaker and Clerk refusing, which was to this purpose.

'That

That the House had considered of the Bill for Tunnage and Poundage, but being overpresst with other business 'and that of it self so perplext, as would require much 'leisure to discharge, could not at that time finish it, 'this Session moving to an end; and lest his Majesty 'should hereafter as he had done heretofore, encline to 'Evil Spirits, or be abused to believe that he might 'justly receive the Subsidies of Tunnage and Poundage 'which they humbly declare to be against the Fundamen-'tal Laws of the Nation, and contrary to the Kings late 'Answer to the Petition of Right; therefore they crave 'that his Majesty would for the future forbear such Tax-'es and not take it ill, if his Subjects refuse what it de-'manded by Arbitrary and unwarrantable Power. A Report was made from the Committee of Pardons by Oliver Cromwel, that Dr. Neal B. of Winchester was chiefly instrumental, in procuring the Kings hand to the Pardons of Dr. Sybthorp, Manwaring, Cousens, & Mountague, and that he had preferred Dr. Manwaring to a rich Living though censured by Parliament, & disabled from holding any Ecclesiastical dignity, as a Countenancer not only of Arminianisme but flat Popery.

The Commons having passed their Remonstrance, required the Speaker to put it to the Vote, whether it should be presented to the King, or not; who refused it, and according to the Kings order would have gone away; but Mr. Hollis would not suffer him to stir till himself had read the Protestation of the House, consisting of 3. Heads. '1. Who ever shall bring in any Innova-'tion in Religion or by favour seek to introduce Popery or Arminianisme, or other Opinions disagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom. 2. Whosoever shall counsel or Advise, the taking or levying the Subsidies of Tunnage and Poundage not being granted by Parliament or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to the Common-wealth. 3. If any man shall voluntarily pay the same, not being granted by Parliament; he shall be reputed a Betra-

er of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to the Commonwealth. These Articles were entertained with the general Approbation of the Members, but much disliked by the King, who sent for the Serjeant of the Mace, out of the H. of Commons, but Sir Miles Hobart locking the door would not let him go forth, at which the King being offended sends the Usher of the Black Rod to dissolve them, who was not admitted in, whereupon the King with his guard of Pensioners, resolved to force their Entrance, which the Commons having notice of, they suddenly went all out of the House; which was the end of this Parliament. After their Dissolution, the King published a Declaration of the cause thereof, and questioned Eleven Members at the Council Table, who were all committed to Prison. The Marquis of Huntly, Sheriff of the greatest part of Scotland, neglecting the Order of the Council for seizing Priests and Jesuits, who publickly said Mass, and committed other Insolencies at Aberdeen, with other Lords, who refused to appear upon Summons, and had given notice to the Priests and Jesuits to escape, were proclaimed Rebels and Traitors; upon which they fled into England. The French K. having had much loss by the War with England, did now conclude a Peace.

A Paper was about this time dispersed, containing some Projects how the King might Augment his Revenues without the help of Parliaments, and the Earls of Bedford, Somerset, and Clare, with others were committed upon Information that they had dispersed some Copies of them; but Sir D. Fowlis cleared them, who deposed upon Oath, that it was contrived Sixteen years before by Sir Rob. Dudley, Son to the Earl of Leicester, when he was in Italy.

The dissolving the last Parliament caused Animosities in the People against the Ministers of State, and invective Libels were dispersed one against B. Laud was found in the Dean of St. Pauls Yard, to this effect, 'Laud look to 'thy self, be assured thy Life is sought; as thou art the 'Fountain of Wickedness, repent of thy Monstrous sin before

ble to the English; and the E. of Strafford was so offended thereat, that he desired leave of the K. to give them Battel, and was willing as he told B. Laud to undertake upon the Peril of his Head; with his Army of English Grashoppers to beat those Sons of Anak home again, so much Superiour were the Scots Soldiers then accounted to the English; but October 16. the English Commanders condescended to Articles of Agreement, which were after signed by the King himself. The Treaty of Rippon was but previous to another at London for ending all differences between the King and his Subjects of Scotland; during which Treaty, James E. of Montross made several Applications to the King, offering his Service to him, and testifying his dislike of the Scottish Proceedings; these two Letters were said to have been secretly taken out of the Kings Pockets, and conveyed to the Covenanters by D. Hamilton; to render Montross Odious to the People, and Unserviceable to the King.

The Parliament met Nov. 3. 1640. which was looked on by Laud as a fatal day for Summoning Parliaments, in reference to Church-matters; the Parliament of K. Henry 8. which pulled down Monasteries, being Assembled on Nov. 3. So he advised the King for lucks sake to put off their meeting for two or three days, but he did not regard it. To give some Account of the temper of those times, I will repeat the words of a Person of Honour, then a Member of the House of Commons, who published some Passages concerning that Parliament. 'Never Parliament (saith he) was Assembled when the 'People were in an higher discontent than at this time: 'such a general Diffidence there was, as they thought 'themselves sure of nothing; the increase of Ceremonies 'made them fear the approach of a Religion hateful to 'them; the business of Ship money, with other Impo-'sitions, without consent of Parliament, caused them 'to apprehend the loss of Property in their Estates, and 'they had little hope of Redress by Parliaments, because 'the K. had been so unhappy as to be put upon a 'sudden

Dissolution

'tion of all Parliaments by him called. And Mr. T. May formerly a Servant to the King, thus begins his Relation of these Civil Wars.

'Forty years old was King Charles, and 15 years had 'he Reigned, when this Parliament was called; so 'long had the Laws been violated, more than under 'any King, the Liberties of the people invaded, and 'the Authority of Parliament by which Laws and Liber-'ties are supported, trodden under foot, which had by 'degrees much discontented the English Nation. For 'the King within the first four years of his Reign had 'called three Parliaments; and soon dissolved them all, 'before they could any way Benefit the Kingdom, or 'Redress the least Grievance of the People. In the se-'cond year he granted and signed the Petition of Right, 'but suddenly breaking up that Parliament, he acted 'the same things in violation of Laws which he had 'done before. So that it was manifest the Peoples Li-'berties, by granting of that Petition, were not fortified, 'but utterly overthrown, and it appeared neither Laws 'themselves could give Protection, nor the Kings Faith 'security to the People. After the dissolution of the 'third Parliament, Men were forbidden by Proclamation 'to speak any more of Parliaments. In this Interval, 'the people at home were fleeced by Monopolies, and 'many ways exacted upon by Illegal Taxes. Abroad 'scarce any Negotiations were made, but such as were 'destructive to Religion and the Nation. And tho' 'the King by many Illegal ways raised Money through 'England, and borrowed great Sums of the unwilling 'People, by Privy Seals and Ship-money; yet there 'was no remedy left, the Judges by altering a clause in 'their Patents being forced to submit to the Kings Will. 'The Dignity and Pomp of the Prelacy had of late 'been much promoted, many great Offices conferred 'on them, many Ceremonies and Innovations brought 'into the Church, too near approaches made to Popery, 'great contempt thrown upon Forreign Protestant Chur-'ches, and Popery much countenanced, at Court from the

'the Queens great Power over the King, several Nun-
'cio's from the Pope, as Panzani, Con and Rosetti, be-
'ing received with much honour, in the Court of Eng-
'land: Yet after all this, Peace continued, till at length
'the Fatal Coal was blown into a Flame, through out the
'3 Kingdoms.

Mr. William Lenthal was chosen Speaker of the H. of Commons, and the King in a Speech tells them that the Scotish Troubles were the cause of their meeting, and requires them to consider of means for casting them out, and then promises he will concur in satisfying their just Grievances: telling them of his want of Money to maintain his Army, and how dishonourable it would be to the English Nation, if it should be disbanded before the Scots were put out of the Kingdom, and desired them to consider of the Oppression of the Northern Countries during the Treaty. The Commons Voted down all Monopolies, and all Members that had a benefit by them were expelled the House; Complaint was made in the H. of Lords, against Sir W. Beecher, one of the Clerks of the Council, for violating their Privileges in searching the E. of Warwicks and the L. Brooks Studies, Cabinets and Pockets, upon dissolving the last Parliament; who was committed to the Fleet, tho' he pleaded the Commaud of the Secretary of State for his so doing. The E. of Strafford is Impeached of High Treason by the Commons, in the H. of Lords, whereupon he is sequestred the House, and Sir G. Ratcliff sent for out of Ireland. The B. of Lincoln, who was Prisoner in the Tower is released; and likewise Pryn, and Burton, who are brought in great Triumph to London, and Presented their Petitions against their Prosecutors.

The Papists now begin to fear a Cloud, for Justice Howard was to take a List of all Recusants within Westminster, to prevent which he was stabbed by John James in Westminster-Hall; for which he was imprisoned in the Gate House: But Sir *F.* Windebank Secretary of State, fearing to be called to Account for repri-

vate

ving Jesuits and Priests, or worse matters, fled to France. December 7th the Commons voted Ship-Mony, with the opinion of the Judges thereupon to be Illegal, and a Charge of High Treason was ordered to be drawn up against eight of them. December 11 Alderman Pennington and some hundreds of Citizens presented a Petition subscribed by 15000. Hands against Church Discipline and Ceremonies. The H. of Commons voted, That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation should have no Power to make Cannons or Laws without Parliaments; and that the Cannons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, the Kings Prerogative, the Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and tend to Faction and Sedition. In pursuance hereof a Charge was drawn up against A. B. Laud as the principal framer of those Cannons and other Delinquencies; which was seconded by another from the Scots Commissioners; upon which he was committed to the Black Rod, and ten weeks after Voted Guilty of High Treason, and sent to the Tower. The Scots likewise prefer a charge against the E. of Strafford then in Custody requiring Justice against them both, as the great Incendaries and Disturbers of Church and State, and Sir G. Ratcliff, the Earls Bosom Friend, had Articles drawn up against him. 'That he had conspired with the 'Earl to bring Ireland under an Arbitrary Government 'and to subvert the Fundamental Laws, and to bring 'an Army from Ireland to subdue the Subjects of Eng-'land. That he persuaded the Earl to use Regal Power 'and to deprive the Subjects of their Liberties and Pro-'perties. That he countenanced Papists, and built 'Monasteries, to alienate the affections of the Irish from 'England. That he withdrew the Subjects of Scotland 'from their King. And lastly, That to preserve himself 'and the Earl of Strafford, he laboured to subvert the 'Liberties and Priviledges of the Parliament in Ireland The L. Keeper Finch, made a Speech in his own Vindication, yet was Voted a Traytor upon several Accounts among the rest, for solliciting, persuading, and threat-

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'ning the Judges to deliver their opinions for raising 'Ship-Money, and for several ill Offices done in mo-'ving the King to dissolve the last Parliament and cau-'sing the publishing the Kings Declaration thereupon. Next day he was accused before the Lords, but he fore-saw the Storm, and fled into Holland. The Parliament having removed their Enemies, and increasing in Repu-tation, were designing a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, for promoting which, Petitions came from divers places, one with 800 Hands directly against Episcopacy. The King calling both Houses together, and tells them, of their slowness, and the charge of two Armies in the Kingdom, and that he would have them avoid two Rocks the one about the Hierarchy of Bishops, which he was willing to reform, but not to alter: The other concern-ing frequent Parliaments, which he liked well, but not to give his Power to Sheriffs and Constables.

About this time Goodman a Popish Priest, condem-ned at the Sessions in London, was reprieved by the King, upon which both Houses Petitioned to know who were the Instruments of it; and receiving an unsatisfactory Answer, they Remonstrated against the Toleration of Papists; the Popes Nuncio Rosetti; and this Goodman, whom they desired might be left to the Justice of the Law; The King answers, 'That the increase of Popery, 'and Papists in his Dominions, is extreamly against his 'mind, and that he would use all possible means for 'restraining it: As for the Popes Nuncio Rosetti, 'he had no Commission, but only to preserve Corre-'spondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was 'allowed her by the Articles of Marriage, however he 'had prevailed with her to remove him, and is contented 'to remit the particular Case of Goodman to both Houses. The Scots had been quartered in England five Months during which a Cessation had been concluded at Rippon, but the full Pacification was reserved for London, where Commissioners sate to hear the Demands of the Scots, who presented the great Account of their Char-ges, which was 514128 pounds nine Shillings besides

the loss of their Nation which was Four hundred and forty thousand pounds. This reckoning startled the English Commissioners, till the *Scots* told them, they did not give in that Account as expecting a Total Reparation of their Charges and Losses, but were content to bear a part of it; hoping for the rest, from the Justice and Kindness of England. There was some opposition made to their demands, however Moneys were raised for the present from the City of *London*, for supply of both Armies, as the Parliament had done once before.

A match was propounded between the young P. of Orange, and the Lady Mary, eldest Daughter to the King, which he communicated to the Parliament, with whom it found an unanimous Reception, in regard of the Alliance to be concluded with the States General; and that he was of the same Protestant Religion with England, so that the Marriage was soon concluded. After this four Members of the Commons delivered a Message to the Lords of a Popish Design of levying an Army of 15000 in Lancashire, and 8000 in Ireland, and that the main promoters thereof were the Earls of *Strafford* and Worcester. In February Sir Rob. *Berkly*, one of the Judges about Ship Money, was accused of High Treason and committed to the Black Rod. The King passed an Act for a Triennial Parliament, and to let them know what value he put upon it, told the two Houses, That hitherto they had gone on in those things which concerned themselves, and now he expected they should proceed to what concerned him. This gave such universal content, that Sir Ed. Littleton *L.* Keeper, was ordered to return the Humble thanks of both Houses to his Majesty; and there were Bonfires and Bells ringing in London, as formerly upon granting the Petition of Right.

March 1. 1640. A. B. Laud upon an Accusation of High Treason by the Commons, was committed to the Tower: And Episcopacy it self was called in question: the L. Digby made a witty Speech in defence of it, and A. B. Usher gave his Judgement for the Moderation and Emendation

Emendation of it and the Liturgy, not the extirpation thereof, yet March 10. The Commons Voted, 'That no 'Bishop should have any Vote in Parliament, nor any 'Judicial Power in the Star Chamber, nor be concerned 'in any Temporal matters; and that no Clergy man 'should be a Justice of Peace.

The Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts were both taken away, it being urged, That the Prelates had abused them to the unsufferable wrong, and oppression of the Subject, and that their having Votes in Parliament, with other Civil Power, was found the occasion of much mischief in Church and State, the Office of the Ministry being of such great importance as to take up the whole man, and to make way for abolishing Prelacy it self, which after followed, the Gentry and others (saith Dr. Hoylyn) usually Objected;

'That the Bishops altogether neglected the Duty of 'Preaching under colour of attending their Governments 'where yet they only stood as Cyphers, giving their 'whole Power to their Chancellors and under Officers, 'and that they did not sit in their Consistories to hear 'Grievances and administer Justice to the Subject, but 'left them a prey to Registers, Proctors, & Apparators 'who most unconscionably extorted from them what 'they pleased. That few or none held their Visitations 'in Person, whereby the face of the Bishop was unknown to the greatest part of the Clergy, to the discouraging Godly and painful Ministers, and incouraging the vicious and irregular. That few lived in 'their Episcopal Cities, and some had never been in 'them, whereby the poor wanted relief from their 'Hospitality, and Divine Service was neglected, and not 'reverently used in the Cathedrals, for want of their super-inspection. That they ordained in Private Churches or Chappels without the Deans and Chapters, 'ingressing the Power to themselves, and rendring the 'others Power useless; Lastly, That since they did nothing belonging to a Bishop, but receive their Rents, 'live in ease and worldly Pomp, and domineer over the

'reſt of their Brethren, it was expedient to remove 'Biſhops out of the Church, and to turn their Lands and Houſes to better uſes.

March 26. 1640. The E. of Straffords Tryal began in Weſtminſter Hall, the King, Queen, and Prince being preſent; the Commons likewiſe being there as a Committee for managing their Accuſation; the E. of Arundel was L. High Steward, and the E. of Lindſey Lord High Conſtable: The Accuſation was managed by Mr. Pym, conciſting of 28 Articles, to moſt of which the E. made particular replies. The Commons procured the Parliament of Ireland to proſecute him there alſo, as guilty of High Treaſon; which being unexpectedly produced, extorted from the Earl this paſſionate Expreſſion, 'That there was a Conſpiracy againſt him to take 'away his Life. At which the Commons cried out, 'That ſtanding impeached of High Treaſon, he durſt 'accuſe the Parliament of two Kingdoms of Conſpiracy 'againſt him. But beſides all theſe, certain notes were produced, taken by Sir H. Vane in a cloſe Committee of ſelect Councellors, whom the King choſe to conſult about his ſecond Expedition againſt the Scots; out of which it was alledged againſt the Earl, 'That he had 'given the King advice to borrow an Hundred Thouſand 'Pound of the City of London, To levy Ship Money 'rigorouſly, and that his Majeſty having tryed the af'fections of his People, was abſolved and looſed from all 'Rules of Government, and might do what Power would 'admit; and having an Army in Ireland, might imploy 'it for the reducing of this Kingdom, which he was ſure 'could not hold out five Months: And London being 'full of the Nobility, the Commiſſion of Array was to 'be ſet on foot, and all Oppoſers thereof to be ſeverely 'dealt with.

To this the Earl replyed, That he conceived it lawful for a Privy Councellor to have freedom of Voting with others; and as to the matter of the Engliſh Army, he thought that the ſingle Teſtimony of one man, (Secretary Vane) was not of Validity in Law, much leſs in

Life

Life and Death, and that the Depoſitions of Vane were doubtful, as appeared by his ſeveral Examinations, and that there were preſent at the debate but eight Privy Councellors, whereof two were not to be produced, and 4 others declared upon their Honours that they never heard him ſpeak thoſe words, or any like them; and and laſtly, That if he had ſpoken them (which he yet granted not) that the word This Kingdom, could not imply England, the debate being of Scotland, there being not the leaſt intention of Landing the Iriſh Army in England; and concluded his defence with telling the Lords, that he was accuſed of Treaſon for endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land, but it ſeemed ſtrange to him that it ſhould be Treaſon together, which was not Treaſon in any part; and deſired the Lords to conſider how their own Priviledges would ſuffer by his Condemnation.

The Commons to juſtifie there Charge by Law, produced the Salvo annexed to the Star. of 25. Ed. 3. That becauſe all particular Treaſons could not then be defined; therefore what the Parliament ſhould declare to be Treaſon, in time to come, ſhould be puniſhed as Treaſon; This Salvo was the ground-work of the Bill of Attainder, and being a point of Law, the Earl had Council allowed him, who anſwered, 'That the Sta-'tute which they cited, was but a Declarttion of a Pe-'nal Law, and would no way admit of ſuch conſequen-'tial and Inferential Conſtructions, and that this Salvo 'was repealed by an Act of Parliament in the 6. of Hen-'ry 4. The Commons proceed on their Bill of Attainder and Voted the Earl Guilty of High Treaſon, upon the Evidence of Secretary Vane and his Notes; ſending the Bill to the Lords for their Concurrence to whom it ſeemed at firſt perplext, till the Commons ſent Mr. Saint-John the Kings Sollicitor to give them ſatisfaction.

In the mean time the Commons petitioned the King, 1. To remove all Papiſts from the Court. 2. For diſarming them throughout the Kingdom. 3. For diſbanding the Iriſh Army. The King anſwered, 'They all knew

what Legal Truſt the Crown hath in that particular ' therefore he ſhall not need to ſay any thing to aſſure ' them that he ſhall uſe it ſo, as there ſhall be no juſt ' cauſe of *Scandal*. As for the ſecond he is content it ' ſhall be done by Law. And for the laſt he had entred ' into Conſultation about it, finding many difficulties ' therein, and doth ſo wiſh the diſbanding of all Armies ' as he did conjure them ſpeedily and heartily to joyn ' with him in diſbanding theſe two here, Scotch and ' Engliſh. The Bill being finiſhed againſt the E. of ' Strafford, the King tells both Houſes, ' That he had ' been preſent at the hearing of that great Cauſe, and ' that in his Conſcience, poſitively he could not condemn ' him of high Treaſon, and yet could not clear him of ' miſdemeanours, but hoped a way might be found out ' to ſatisfie Juſtice and their fears without oppreſſing his ' Conſcience. And ſo diſmiſſed them to their great diſcontent, which was propagated ſo far, that May 3. near 1000 Citizens, moſt armed with Swords, Cudgels, and Staves came to Weſtminſter, crying out for Juſtice againſt the E. of *Strafford*; applying themſelves to the E. of Montgomery, L. Chamberlain, by whoſe promiſes their fury was abated: However they poſted upon the Gate at Weſtminſter, a Liſt of the Names of thoſe who would have acquitted the Earl, whom they ſtiled Straffordians. The Parliament being informed that endeavours were uſed, to raiſe a diſguſt in the Engliſh Northern Army againſt their proceedings, enter into a National Proteſtation to maintain with Life, Power, and Eſtate the True Reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the *Church* of England, againſt all *Popery* and Popiſh Innovations: Which was ordered to be printed and publiſhed through the Kingdom.

May 5. The Lords acquainted the Commons, That they thought it the ſafeſt courſe to lay by the Bill of Attainder, becauſe it brought in the King for Judge, And the next day they debated the ſeveral Articles of his Impeachment, and Voted the Earl guilty of High Treaſon

Treason upon two of them, that is, the 15th. For levying money in Ireland, by force in a warlike manner, and the 16th For Imposing Oaths upon the Subjects of Ireland. The Commons had now finished a Bill, For the continuance of the Parliament; which having passed the Lords, was tendred the King to be signed; together with the Bill of Attainder, who answered that on Munday he would satisfie them, The Sunday the King spent in consulting about the E. of Strafford with the Judges and Bishops. 'The Judges told him, That in point of 'Law, (according to the Oath made by Sir H. Vane of 'the Earls advice to raise Horse to awe this Nation) 'he was guilty of Treason, In the Evening Five Bishops, 'viz, of Armagh, London, Durham, Lincoln, and 'Carlisle, were called to satisfie his Conscience about it, 'who all agreed, That the King might shew mercy 'without any scruple, and that he could not condemn 'the Earl, if he did not think him Guilty: This was to 'matter of Fact, but as to matter of Law, he was to 'rest in the opinion of the Judges. Next day the King gives Commission to several Lords to pass the Bill of Attainder against the E. of Strafford: And for continuing the Parliament, during the pleasure of both Houses Which last Act was occasioned by the Scots requiring vast Sums of Money; and for Disbanding both Armies; whereby great Taxes were laid by Act of Parliament, which could not be levyed in a short time, and there needed a present Supply, and the City of London would not part with their Money, lest a Dissolution should happen before payment. The same Day the King sent Sir Dudly Carlton, Secretary of State, to acquaint the Earl with what was done and the Motives thereto, whereat the E. was greatly astonished, but next day the King being troubled, writes a Letter with his own hand to the H. of Lords, and sent it by the P. of Wales telling them. 'That whereas Justice had been 'satisfied in his Condemnation, an Intermixture of 'mercy would not now be unseasonable; and therefore 'desired them, that if it might be done without dis-on-

'tent to the People, the Earl might be permitted to 'fulfil the natural Course of his Life in close Imprison-'ment, sequestr'd from all publick Affairs, provided he 'never attempted to make an escape; however he thought 'it a work of Charity to reprieve him till Saturday; 'But nothing could be obtained in favour of him, only 'the Lords said, Their intention was to be Suitors to his 'Majesty, to shew favour to his innocent Children, 'and that whatever provision himself had made for 'them, might be confirmed. Some Designs were laid for his Escape, but May 12. 1641. He was conveyed from the Tower by a Guard of the Trained Bands: Before him went his Gentleman Usher bare headed, and himself followed, accompanied with the A. B. of Armagh and others.

The Earl being come to the Scaffold upon Tower-hill, addrest himself to the A. B. of Armagh to this Effect, 'That he was come to pay the last Debt he owed to 'Sin, with a good hope of rising again to Righteousness: 'That he died willingly, forgave all and submitted to 'Justice; he professed himself guiltless as to the matter 'for which he died; He wished all prosperity to the 'King and People, and acquitted him from the guilt of his

'his death having acted therein no otherwise than as 'constrained: He advised his Adversaries to repent of 'their Violent Proc sagainst him; telling them 'that he thought it a strange way to write in Blood, the 'beginning of Reformation and Settlement of the King-'dom. However he wished that his Blood might rest, 'and not cry against them. He declared he died in the 'Faith of the Church of England for whose happiness he 'prayed, and concluded his Speech with intreating the 'Spectators to pray for him. After which he kneeled down to Prayers, and rising up again took leave of his Brother Sir G. Wentworth and all his Friends, sending his Love to his Wife, and his Blessing to his Children, with a strict Injunction to his Onely Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church; then giving the sign to the Executioner, his head was severed from his Body at the first stroke. This was the end of that Great Minister of State, who is reported when he heard the King had consented to the Bill of Attainder to have lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and clapping his hand upon his heart to have cried out (perhaps in Imitation of Cardinal Woolsey) Put not your Trust in Princes nor in the Sons of Men, for in them is no *Salvation*. It is said the chief Motive was a *Letter* from the Earl, to the K. wherein he thus concluded.

Sir, To set your Majesties Conscience at Liberty, I 'do most humbly beseech you, (for the preventing such 'mischiefs as may happen by your refusal) to pass the 'Bill, by this means to remove praised be God (I can-'not say this Cursed but) this Unfortunate Thing, forth 'of the way, towards that blessed Agreement which 'God I trust shall for ever establish between You and 'your Subjects. My consent herein shall more acquit 'you to God, than all the world can do beside: To a 'willing man there is no injury done. The fall of this powerful Favourite so startled other great Officers of State, that several resigned their places. The Payment of Tunnage and Poundage had been questioned since 1628. but now the King at the request of the Common relin-

quisht his claim to it, and passed a Bill for Poll Money and two others for putting down the Star-Chamber and the High Commission Courts; which had so far out grown the power of the Law that they would not be limited by it. July 5. A Charge was brought into the House of Commons against Doctor Wren Bishop of Ely, who was Voted unworthy to exercise any Office in Church and State; and the Lords joyned with them, to request the King for his removal from his service; so he was committed to the Tower. The Writs for Ship Money and all the Proceedings therein were by the Kings consent judged void, and 5 of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, Impeached of high misdemeanours; that is, Bramston, Trevor, Weston, Davenport and Crawley. Aug. 6. The English and Scotch Armies being disbanded, the King went for Scotland and was entertained with great demonstrations of Affection by that Nation, and conferred several places of Honour upon divers of them, confirming the Treaty between the two Nations by Act of Parliament.

October 23. 1641. A Horrid Rebellion broke out in Ireland, managed with such secresie, that it was not discovered till the night before it was to have been put in Execution; and carried on with such fury, that Two Hundred Thousand English Men, Women, & Children were barbarously murdered by all the Cruel Torments their Devilish minds could invent: Chiefly occasioned by the Instigation of the Irish Popish *Priests*, Monks and Friers, who declaimed loudly against the Protestants, saying, 'That they were Hereticks, and not to 'be suffered any longer to live amongst them, That it 'was no more sin to kill them than to kill a Dog, and 'that it was a mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or 'to protect any of them. Yea the Priests gave the Sacrament to them upon condition they should spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child of the Protestants, saying, 'That it did them a great deal of good to wash 'their hands in their blood: and that they were worse 'than Dogs; and if any of them died in the Quarrel, before

'before there bodies were cold, their Souls should be in 'Heaven without ever calling in at Purgatory by the 'way. This bloody Rebellion happened in a time wherein the Irish had all the Privilidges and Liberty they could reasonably expect, and their ancient hatred to the *English*, seemed to be forgotten, Forty years Peace having cemented them together by Alliances and Marriages, all which were now miserably broken. The Castle of Dublin, wherein were Ten thousand Arms, and all the Forts and Magazines in the Kingdom, were to have been surprized, and all the English Protestants that would not joyn with them, murthered; but the seizing the Castle was happily prevented by Owen Conally, from some discourse accidentally in a Tavern with Hugh Mac Mahon, Grandson to the great E. of Tyrone the night before the intended Execution. Upon this Discovery Mac Mahon and L. Mac Guire, were seized by the Lords chief Justices of Ireland, and many Principal Conspirators escaped that night out of Dublin; so was Dublin saved, 'that all Ireland might not be lost in one day. But the horrid Design was past prevention as to the General, for the Conspirators were in Arms at the day appointed in all the Counties round about, and poor *English Protestants* daily arrived there, robbed of all they had, giving lamentable Relations how there Houses, Towns and Villages were fired, and all manner of cruel outrages committed. The Lords Justices Sir W. Parsons and Sir J. Burlace, taking those Arms which they found in Dublin, and Arming whom they could, sent Sir H. Spotwood to the King then in Scotland with an account of all that happened, who dispatched Sir James Stuart with Instructions to the Lords of the Privy Council in Ireland, and all the Money his present stores would supply. He likewise moved the Parliament of Scotland as being nearest for their assistance, but they excused it, because Ireland was a dependant upon the Crown of England; but if the State of England would use any of their men for that service, they would make Propositions in order to it. At the

same

ſame time the King ſent Poſt to the Parliament of England, and a while after Owen O Conally the firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot, came to London and brought Letters to the E. of Leiceſter (who was choſen Deputy but not yet gone over) wherein the Lords Juſtices deſired ſome reward might be given him; upon which the Parliament Voted him 500l. and an Annuity of 200 l. a year and at a Conference of both Houſes, they paſſed ſeveral Votes for the relief of Ireland.

The Iriſh to diſhearten the Engliſh from reſiſtance, openly boaſted, That the Q. was with their Army, and that the K. would likewiſe come and aſſiſt them: That they did only defend his Cauſe againſt the Puritans, and that they had the Kings Commiſſion for what they acted This the Kings Party excuſed, alledging that the Commiſſion which they openly produced was all of their own drawing, and that the Rebells had affixed thereto an old Broad Seal taken out of Farnham Abby, by one Plunket. Tho' K. Charles 2. ſent a Letter to the Privy-Council in Ireland, dated July 10 1663. For reſtoring the E. of Antrim, one of the Principal Rebels to his Eſtate, wherein he declares that this Arch-Rebel had done nothing but what the King his Father was well pleaſed with, after he had done it, and approved the ſame; and that he found him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpoſe againſt the Crown. And to make the Iriſh deſperate, they produced pretended Letters from England, That the Parliament had paſſed an Act, All the Iriſh ſhould be compelled to the Proteſtant Worſhip, and for the firſt refuſal to forfeit all their Goods, for the ſecond their Eſtates, and for the third their Lives; and told them, That the Engliſh Yoke ſhould be ſtriken off, That they ſhould have a King of their own Nation, and that then all the Goods and Eſtates of the Engliſh ſhould be divided among them. With theſe Motives of Spoil and Liberty, ſtrengthned by Religion, the Rebellion increaſed: The Rebels in Ulſter commanded by Sir Phelim O Neal, and others had poſſeſſed moſt of the ſtrong places in that Province; and

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many others which they could not take by force nor treachery, were delivered by the Engliſh upon Articles, which they perfidiouſly broke, Butchering and Maſſacrying the poor Engliſh without compaſſion to Age or Sex; though they ſpared the Scotch Plantations in Ulſter, becauſe of their numbers and for fear of the Scotch Army, ſo eaſily to be tranſported to the North parts of Ireland, but now their General Sir Phelim O Neal (one of the Race of the bloody E. of Tyrone, a pretended Proteſtant till ſome time before) having got together a vaſt number of the Natives, deſtroyed their Houſes & Goods; ſtript & drove them naked to the Scotiſh ſhore; from thence he marched into other parts, and took Dundalk incamping at Arde near Tredagh. The Parliament Voted a vigorous aſſiſtance, and voted Fifty thouſand Pound for a preſent Supply. The Council of Ireland had armed as many as were able, and given Commiſſions for raiſing ſeveral Regiments; the E. of Ormond was made L. General, and a Regiment was ſent from England under the conduct of Sir Simon Harcourt.

The King being returned out of Scotland, tells both Houſes, 'That he had ſtaid longer than he expected, 'yet not fruitleſly, for he had given full ſatisfaction to 'that Nation; but cannot chuſe but take notice of, and wonder at, the unexpected Diſtractions he finds at home, and then commends to them the State of Ireland: next he publiſhes a Proclamation for Obedience to the Laws in Force concerning Religion, and the performance of Divine Service, without Innovation or Aboliſhing of Rites and Ceremonies. The Commons then preſent this Petition. 'Moſt Gracious Soveraign your 'Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects the Com-'mons in Parliament, do with joy acknowledge the Fa-'vour of God in your ſafe return into England, where 'the dangers and diſtempers of the State have cauſed 'them to deſire your preſence and Authority for pre-'venting of imminent Ruin and Deſtruction to your Kingdoms of England and Scotland, fomented by a

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'malignant Party, for alteration of Religion and Govern-
'ment, the increase of *Popery* by the Practices of Jesu-
'its, and other Engineers and Factors of Rome, cor-
'rupting the Bishops and *Privy* Council; they being
'the cause of the late *Scottish* War and the Irish Rebel-
'lion: Now for prevention they pray, That your Ma-
'jesty would concur with your Parliament to deprive
'the Bishops of their Votes, To take away Oppression in
'Religion, Church Government, and Discipline, To
'purge your Councils of such as are promoters of these
'Corruptions, and not alienate any Escheated *Lands* in
'Ireland, by reason of the Rebellion! and these being
'granted, we will make you happy.

This was followed by a large Remonstrance contain-ing all the Miscarriages of his Reign. As 1, The root and ground of these dangers. 2. Their Maturity and Ripeness. 3. The effectual means used for their Extir-pation, and the progress therein made: 4. The Ob-structions and Oppositions interrupting 5. The best means for removing these obstacles, and for accompli-shing the Parliaments good Intentions, for restoring this Nation to its Ancient Renown. The *Actors* and *Pro-moters* of these Evils, were described to be. 1. The Jesuited Papists. 2 The Bishops, and corrupted Cler-gy. 3. Interested Counsellors, and Courtiers. The root of the mischief was, the Malignant Party, whose Practices were branched into four particulars. 1. To foment differences and discontents between the King and People about *Prerogative* and *Privilege* for their own *Advantage*. 2. To suppress the purity and power of Religion. 3. To Unite *Papists*, *Arminians*, and Libertines, and out of them to compose a *Body* sufficient to carry on their Designs. *And* 4. To disaffect the King to the Parliament, by slanders and by putting him upon other ways of supply than by *Parliament*; and that the intentions of these Malignants were to subvert the Fun-damental Laws and Principles of Government, Occasi-oning the Dissolution of three several Parliaments with-out Relief of Grievances. The Imprisoning and *Fi-*

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ning several of the Members, raising great Sums of Money by *Loan*, Privy Seals and Excise, and blasting The Petition of Right, The successless Attempts upon France and Spain, and Peace made with the Spaniard without Consent of Parliament: The loss of Rochel occasioned by lending part of our Fleet to the French King; deserting the Cause of the Palatinate; charging the Kingdom with Billeting Souldiers, and the design of bringing in German Horse to inslave this Nation to Arbitrary Contributions: *Lastly*, they reflected upon Scandalous Declarations published against the Parliament, upon Injustice, Oppression, Violence, Illegal Inlargements of Forrests, Coat, and Conduct Money Corrupt Councils and Designs, *Projects*, Monopolies,, Illegal *Proceedings* in *Courts* of Judicature, and Council Table; charging the Bishops with many Enormities, particularly for contributing to raise an Army, for constraining the Scots to conform to their Superstitious Ceremonies; concluding with what they had done for the Reformation of these Abuses.

To their Petition the King *Answered*, 'That he knew 'not any Wicked or Malignant Persons whom he doth 'either countenance or imploy, That he would concur 'with his People in a *Parliamentary* way against all Po-'pish Designs, but would not consent to deprive the 'Bishops of their Votes in Parliament: That he judged 'the power of the Clergy sufficiently moderated by ta-'king away the High Commission Court, and needing 'no further Abridgement; That he will concur with 'them to remove any Innovations in Religion by a Nati-'onal Synod; That he had no Counsellors nor Ministers 'of State, whom he would not at any time expose to 'Trial, and leave to the *Law*, but cannot agree that a-'ny others should have the choice of them but himself; 'That he concurs with them for not altering the Forfeit-'ed Lands in Ireland, but thinks it not reasonable to 'resolve before the Event of War be seen; and doubts 'not of their Loyal Endeavours for the support of his 'Royal State.

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In *Answer* to the Remonstrance, the King issues out a Declaration, 'That he thought he had given sufficient 'satisfaction to his Peoples Fears and Jealousies, con-'cerning Religion, Liberty, and Civil Interests, by the 'Bills which he hath passed this Parliament; desiring 'that misunderstandings might be removed on either 'side, and that the bleeding condition of Ireland, might persuade them to Unity, for the relief of that unhappy Kingdom. The London Apprentices, coming in a riotous manner to Whitehall and Westminster, the King commanded the Lord Mayor, to keep a double Watch and Guard for preventing mischief, and Dec. 28 sends a Message to the Lords, That he would raise 10000 Volunteers for Ireland, if the Commons would undertake to pay them.

Jan. 1. A *Proclamation* was published against the Irish declaring those that were in Arms, with all their *Adherents* & *Abettors* to be Rebels and *Traytors*: Two days after, the King ordered that the L. Kimbolton, and Five of the House of Commons, viz. Mr Hollis, Sir *Arthur* Haslerig, Mr Pym, Mr Hambden and Mr Stroud, their *Trunks* & Chambers should be sealed up, & their Persons seized; the former was done, but having notice they went aside, upon which the Commons Voted, 'That if 'any should attempt to seize the Persons or Papers of 'any Parliament Men, such Members shall require the 'Aid of the Constable to secure such Persons till further 'Order of the House; and that it is Lawful for any Per-'son to assist the said Members, and that the Members 'may stand upon their Guard, and make resistance ac-'cording to the *Protestation* for defence of the Privile-'ges of Parliament.

Hereupon the King charges the Lord Kimbolton and the Five Members with several Articles, and acquaints both Houses, That he did intend to prosecute them for High Treason, and required that their Persons might be secured: And next day Attended with his Guard of Pensioners, and some hundreds of Gentlemen, He went to the House of Commons, and the Guard staying without

out, the King with the Palſegrave entred the Houſe, at whoſe entrance the Speaker riſes out of the Chair, and the King ſitting down, views the Houſe round, and perceives the Birds were flown, having withdrawn into *London*, ſo he tells them, That he came to look for thoſe 5 Members whom he had accuſed of High Treaſon, and was reſolved to have them where ever he found them, and expected to have them ſent to him as ſoon as they ſhould come to the Houſe; but would not have them think that this Act of his was any violation of Parliament. This Act of the King was ſo highly reſented that next day Jan. 5. The Commons voted it a Breach of Priviledge, and it was reported in the City, that he intended Violence againſt the H. of Commons, and came thither with force to Murther ſeveral Members, and uſed threatning Speeches againſt the Parliament; upon which Guards and Watches were ſet in the City, and the Houſes adjourned till Tueſday following, appointing a Committee to ſit in Guildhall to conſider of the moſt effectual means for their Security. And then they publiſh a Declaration, That whoſoever ſhall *Arreſt* 'any Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King 'only, is Guilty of the Breach of the *Privilidges* of Parli-'ament; & likewiſe that all thoſe who attended the King 'when he came to demand the 5 Members were guilty 'of a Traiterous deſign againſt the *King* and *Parliament*; 'That the Proclamation for Apprehending and Impriſo-'ning the ſaid Members, was Falſe, Scandalous and Il-'legal, and not of Validity enough to hinder them from 'attending the Houſe; and that the publiſhing of the 'ſeveral Articles of High Treaſon was a Breach of Pri-'viledge; wherefore they intreat his Majeſty, to diſco-'ver the names of thoſe Informers and Evil Counſellors, 'declaring all ſuch Perſons to be publick Enemies to the 'State.

And the Londoners came thronging to Weſtminſter with Petitions, inveighing againſt the Biſhops, upon which twelve Biſhops abſent themſelves from the Houſe of Lords, drawing up a *Proteſtation*, that all Laws were

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void, &c. which should pass, during their Forced Absence; After which at a Conference between both Houses, it was agreed, That this Protestation did extend to the deep intrenching upon the Fundamental Priviledges and Being of *Parliaments*; and they were accused of High Treason, and brought on their knees at the Lords Bar: Ten of them were committed to the Tower, and two to the black Rod.

The King accepted of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, which instead of security, was prejudicial by raising the jealousie of the City against him; for at midnight were cryes made in the Streets of London, that all *People* should rise to their defence, for the King, with his Papists, were coming to fire the City and Cut their throats in their Beds; and the People by such Alarams were filled with horrour. The Commons, upon suspicion of some design upon their *Persons* petition the King for a Guard, to be commanded by the E. of Essex, of whose Fidelity to the King and State, no question was ever made. This Petition was denied by the King, yet he promised to take such care for their security from Violence, as he would for the preservation of himself and Children; and if this would not suffice, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God. This Answer being unsatisfactory, the City join with them, and in Common Council drew up a Petition, complaining, 'That the Trade of the City was decayed, the Pro-'testant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the 'Subjects indangered by the Designs of Papists, Forreign, & Domesticks more particularly their fomenting the Irish Rebellion, changing the Constable of the Tower, making preparation for the fortifying of Whitehall, and his Majesties late Invasion of the H. of Commons, Whereupon they pray, That by the *Parliaments* advice the Protestants of Ireland may be relieved, The Tower to be put into the hands of Persons of Trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament; and that the Five members may not be restrained nor proceeded a-

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gainſt but by Parliament. And the King riding into *London*, the Citizens flocked about his Coach, beſeeching him, To agree with his Parliament, and not to violate their Priviledges.

To their Petition the King Anſwers, That he could not expreſs a greater ſenſe of Ireland than he had done; That meerly to ſatisfie the City he had removed a worthy Perſon from the charge of the Tower; and that the Tumults had cauſed him to fortifie Whitehall, for the ſecurity of his own Perſon. That his going to the Houſe of Commons, was to apprehend thoſe Five Members for Treaſon, to which the Priviledges of Parliament could not extend; and that yet he would proceed againſt them no otherwiſe than legally. The King now withdrew to Hampton Court, taking with him the Queen, Prince, & D. of York; where his Retinue and Guard increaſed, by acceſſion of divers of the Gentry. Next day the Five Members were triumphantly Guarded to Weſtminſter by a great number of Citizens and Seamen, with hundreds of Boats and Barges, ſhouting and hollowing, and making large Proteſtations, of their conſtancy to the *Parliament*. The Parliament having notice the L. Digby and Col. Lunsford were raiſing Horſe at Kingſton, where the County Magazine was lodged, they order, That the County Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace and Trained Bands, ſhall take care to ſecure the Countries and their Magazine, and ſuppreſs all unlawful Aſſemblies. *Lunsford* was ſeized and ſent to the Tower, but Digby eſcaped beyond Sea. The King removed to Royſton, and Sir E. Herbert Attorney General, is queſtioned at the Lords Bar, concerning the Articles againſt the Five Members, where it had gone hard with him, if the King at his earneſt Supplication had not taken him off by a Letter to the L. Keeper Littleton wherein he clears the Attorney General, and takes the whole buſineſs upon himſelf, yet concludes, 'That finding cauſe wholly to deſiſt from proceeding againſt the Perſons Accuſed, he had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no farther therein, nor to produce nor diſcover

discover any proof concerning the same. And so this Breach seemed made up. The *Scots* having a considerable Interest in their British Plantations in Ireland, make proposals for Transporting 2500 Souldiers thither, which were accepted by both Houses, and consented to by the King, and then Commissioners interpose their Mediation between the King and Parliament, for which Mr. Pym was desired to give them the thanks of the House.

January 20. The *King* sends a Message to the *Parliament*, That since particular Grievances were too many to be presented by themselves, that they would digest them into one intire body, and send them to him; and it should then appear how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest Examples of the most Indulgent Princes, in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.

The Commons moved the Lords to join with them in Petitioning for the Militia and the Tower, but they not complying, the H. of Commons themselves, importune the King to put it into the hands of the Parliament, as the only means to remove their Fears, and Jealousies. But the King signified to them, 'That he thought the 'Militia to be lawfully Subject to no command but his 'own, and would not let it out of his hands, That he 'preferred to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, a Person 'of known Fortune and Reputation, and that he would 'prefer none but such to the command of his Forts and 'Castles; yet would not trust the power of conferring 'those Places and Dignities from himself, being deri-'ved to him from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental 'Laws of the Kingdom: Yet the Commons would not desist, but again petitioned, and were again refused. After this divers Petitions were delivered to the *Parliament*, against the Votes of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peers, as one from Suffolk with 1500, another from London with 2000 hands, and a Third from the City Dames; To all which were answered, That the Commons had already endeavoured relief from the Lords in their Requests, and should so continue

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till Redress were obtained. And the Lords passed the Bill, for disabling all Persons in holy Orders, to have any Place or Vote in Parliament, or exercise any temporal Jurisdiction, & the Commons *Petitioned* the K. again for the Militia, and for clearing Kimbolton and the 5 Members, His Answer, Not to intrust the Militia out of himself, nor to clear the Members but only by a General Pardon, being unsatisfactory.

The King now at Hampton Court, sent for all his Domestick Servants of both Houses particularly the Earls of Essex and Holland, who excused themselves with the necessity of performing their duties in *Parliament*, and discharging the Trust reposed in them, for which they were put from their places at Court. The L. Digby about this time sent three Letters from Middleburgh in Zealand (where he was fled out of England) one to the Queen, and two others to Secretary Nicholas and Sir Lewis Dives; signifying, That if the King would openly declare his mind, and betake himself to some place of security, that he might come freely to him, he doubted not but he should do him some acceptable Service: These Letters were intercepted by the *Parliament*, and after perusal sent to the *King* with their Intreaties, That he would persuade the Queen not to correspond with Digby or any other whom his Great Council had proclaimed Traytors. There was a report that the *Parliament* intended to Accuse the Queen of High Treason, as having so much power with the King to misadvise him. This the Parliament excused, as a Scandal; which she seemed satisfied with, yet prevails with the King to accompany her Daughter Mary *Princess* of Orange into Holland, carrying with her all the Kings and her own Jewels, with those of the Crown; intending to raise a party for the King against the *Parliament* by selling them.

Mr *Pym* at a Conference complaining of the flocking of *Papists* into Ireland, affirmed, 'That since the 'Lord Lieutenant had ordered a stop upon the Ports 'against all Irish Papists, many of the chief Commanders

ders now in the Head of the Rebels, had been licensed to pass thither by his Majesties immediate Warrant. The King was highly offended at this Speech, which he signified to the House, who justified Mr *Pyms* words to be the sense of the House, and That they had yet in Custody the *L.* Delvin, Sir G. Hamilton, Col. Butler, Brother to the *L.* Miniard (now in Rebellion) and one of the L. Nettervils Sons.

The King replies, That he thought Mr *Pyms* Speech was not so well grounded as it ought to have been, and that the Persons had there Passes granted before he knew of the Parliaments order of Restraint; and expected their Declaration for his Vindication from that odious Calumny of conniving or favouring that abhorred *Irish* Rebellion. They next moved the King to turn Sir J. Byron out of the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and at their Nomination Sir J. Conyers succeeded; they then proceeded to name fit Persons for trust in the Militia, and by Act of *Parliament* disabled all Clergy men from exercising any Temporal Jurisdiction; After which the King offers, All Statutes concerning Popish Recusants to be put in Execution. That the seven condemned Popish Priests be banished, and all Romish Priests in twenty days shall depart the Kingdom; That He refers the consideration of Church Government & Liturgy wholly to the Houses, and offers to go himself in Person against the Rebels in Ireland.

The Commons for Vindicating their Five Members, Petition the King to send them the Informers, for to desert their Prosecution would not suffice, the whole Parliament being concerned in the charge. Then they settle the Militia for defence of the Parliament, Tower, and City of London, under the Command of M. G. Gen. Skippon, an experienced Souldier in the *Low* Countries. The King goes to Dover, where he took leave of his Wife and Daughter, and so returned to Greenwich; from whence he sent to Hampton Court for his two Eldest Sons to come to him. And now the Parliament for reducing Ireland, ordered two Millions and an half

half of Acres of Confiscate Rebels Lands in four Provinces shall be allotted to such as will disburse Money for carrying on that War, and several other *Provisions* were made for their security, which the King confirms Feb 26 1641. and a considerable sum was raised. The King now sends this Answer to the *Petition* about the Militia, That he is willing to condescend to the *Propo*sals concerning the Militia of the *Counties*, but not of *London* and other *Corporations*, whose Government in that particular, he thought it neither Justice nor Policy to alter; but would not divest himself of the *Power* of the County Militia, but for some limited space: This did not satisfie, so the Breach growing wider, the King removed to Theobalds, with the Prince, and Duke of York.

In March he receives a *Petition* from the Parliament, requiring the Militia more resolutely than before, affirming, That in Case of Denial, the imminent dangers would constrain them to dispose of it by Authority of Parliament; desiring he would make his abode near the Parliament, and continue the Prince at some of his Houses near the City, for the better carrying on Affairs, and preventing the Peoples Jealousies and Fears: All which being refused, they order the *Kingdom* to be put into a posture of defence, and a Committee to prepare a *Declaration*. 1. Of the just causes of the Fears and Jealousies given to the Parliament, yet clearing themselves from any Jealousies conceived against himself. 2. To consider of all matters arising from his Majesties Message, and what was fit to be done. And now began a Civil War, for the Parliament dayly entertaining new Jealousies of the Kings Actions, make preparations by Sea and *Land*: The E. of Northumberland Admiral of England, is commanded to Rig the Kings Ships for Sea, and all Masters and Owners of Ships to do the like. The Beacons were prepared and Sea Marks set up. The King being at Royston, Mar. 9. the Earls of Pembrook and Holland bring him the Parliaments Declaration, and represent some former miscar-

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riages: 'As the Attempts to incenſe the late Northern 'Army againſt the Parliament, The Scotiſh Troubles, 'L. Jermins Treaſon and Tranſportation by the Kings 'Warrant, the Petition delivered to Captain Leg, with 'the Kings own hand, the Direction ſigned C. R. The 'buſineſs of the L. Kimbolton and the Five Members. 'The ſuſpicious Guard about his Perſon, and under-'hand promoting the Iriſh Rebellion. The ordering Sir 'J. Pennington to land the L. Digby beyond Sea; from 'thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and 'to procure Forreign Forces for his Aſſiſtance, which 'now appeared moſt credible by his removal with the 'Prince, and the manifold Advertiſements from Rome, 'Venice, Paris, and other parts, that the Popes Nuncio 'had ſollicited the Kings of France and Spain, to lend 'his Majeſty 4000 Men a piece in reference to ſome 'deſign againſt Religion and the Parliament, and laſtly, 'They deſire him to turn away his wicked Councellors 'and to rely upon his Parliament, which if he would 'do, they would ſacrifice their Lives, & Fortunes, to ſup-'port his Soveraignty. After reading this Declaration, the Lords perſuaded the King to come near the Parliament, and to grant the Militia for a time; which he refuſed, and told them in ſhort, That their Fears and Jealouſies were ſuch as he would take time to ſatisfie the whole World of, but that his own doubts were not Trivial, occaſioned by ſo many Scandalous Pamphlets, Seditious Sermons, and publick Tumults hitherto uninquired into, and unpuniſhed: After this the King publiſhed a Declaration in Anſwer to theirs, That he had no evil Councillors about him, but leaves ſuch to their cenſure where they ſhould find them.

That he deſired the Judgements of Heaven might be manifeſt upon thoſe who had any deſign againſt the Proteſtant Profeſſion. That the Scotiſh Troubles were buſried in ſilence, by the Act of Oblivion paſſed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That there charging him with inclining to the Iriſh Rebels, was a high and cauſleſs injury to his Royal Reputation. That he never intended

intended to exasperate the late Army, or use them against the Parliament. That Cap Legs Petition was brought to him, subscribed by the Officers of the Army, desiring that the Parliament might not be hindred from reforming the Church and State to the Model of Q. Elizabeths days: And to assure Sir Jacob Ashly of his Opinion therein, he writ C. R. That the Lord Digby and Mr. Jermin, neither were at Whitehall, nor had any Warrant from him after the Restraint. That he had given a sufficient answer about Kimbolton and the five Members. That the care of his own safety caused him to raise a Guard at Whitehal, and to receive the Loyal Tender which the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court made him of their Service. And that he looked upon the Forreign Advertisements as meerly wild and irrational.

The King goes farther Northward, whilst the Parliament Voted the Ordinance for Defence of the Kingdom not to be prejudicial to the Oath of Allegiance, but to be obeyed as the Fundamental Laws; and that the Kings Commands for Lieutenancy over the several Counties were illegal and void. Coming to Huntington he sends them a Message March 15. 'That he intends to make 'his Residence at York, and desires them to hasten 'their Succours for Ireland. and not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance for the Militia, to Do or Execute any thing against the Laws, which he himself was to keep; Declaring his Subjects not to be obliged to obey any Act or Order, to which he hath not given consent: In answer to which they resolve; That the absence of the King so far from his Parliament, was destructive to the Relief of Ireland; and all those Counsellors which advised him to it, are to be suspected as Favourers of that bloody Rebellion, as likewise these who perswaded his Majesty to question or contradict their Votes, which was a high breach of Priviledge of Parliament. March 16. The King at Stamford published a Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution against Popish Recusants; Thence he goes to York, and Re-

peals his Grant for passing the Bill against Tunnage and Poundage, of June 22. commanding the Payment thereof according to the Act passed in the First of King James I.

In 1642. The King ordered Sir J. Pennington to command the Summer Fleet for the Narrow Seas, the Parliament earnestly desired it might be the E. of Warwick, but were refused to their great distaste. During the Assizes at York, the Gentry, Ministers, and Freeholders present a Petition to the King, to endeavour an Agreement with the Parliament, who advises them to apply themselves to the Parliament, for the good of all. And next day he sends a Message to the Houses, That he intended to raise for his Guard 200 Foot and 200 Horse to be supplied with Arms from the Magazine at Hull, upon taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, That if the Parliaments Undertaking for the Irish War, would not defray the Charges of raising and paying them, he would pawn or sell his Land or Houses; desiring them to quicken their Levies as the Scots did theirs.

The Parliament mistrusting the Kings going North was intended for seizing the Magazine at Hull, endeavoured to prevent it, by declaring their suspicion of his design to raise an Army, and pray, That it might be removed to the Tower of London, as a place of safety, & easier transport for Ireland & that the Reprieve for the Popish Priests be recalled, and they executed. And to make all sure, Sir J. Hotham a Member of the H. of Commons, is sent to take the Government of that place, who by his sudden coming prevented the E. of New-Castle, designed by the King to be Governor, so that when the King came to Hull in person, he finds the Gates shut and the Bridges drawn up. From the Wall Hotham appears, on his Knees intreating his Majesty, Not to command that, which without Breach of Trust he could not yield obedience to, but the King proclaimed him Traytor, and by Letters to the Parliament, complained of that indignity, but they justified him, and

ſent a Committee of Lords and Commons to reſide there, and gave the Governor power to raiſe the Trained Bands for his defence; The King hearing the Parliament had raiſed a Guard, ſummoned the Gentry of Yorkſhire and acquainted them, That his Magazine at Hull was taken from him, the Militia againſt the Law and his conſent put in execution, and Sir J. Hothams Treaſon countenanced, ſo that he was reſolved to have a Guard to ſecure his perſon, in which he deſired their aſſiſtance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Proteſtant Religion, from violation. The King hereby ſtrengthened himſelf, and more had come in, had not thoſe Members of Parliament, who came to the King at York, prevailed with the Free-holders to proteſt againſt it. ſince they by ſpecial Service, could not be commanded to attend the King's pleaſure, without tranſgreſſing the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom. And that whoſoever upon pretence of his Majeſties command, ſhall take up Arms; ſhall be eſteemed diſturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded againſt accordingly Sir Tho. Gardiner who had been recorder of London ſix years, being impeached by the Parliament and in danger of hanging, eſcaped to the King who now endeavoured to remove the Term from London to York, but the Parliament Voted it Illegal, and forbid the L. Keeper to iſſue out Writs or Seal any Proclamation to that purpoſe The Parliament put the People into a Military poſture, requiring all Perſons in Authority to put the late Ordinance of the Militia in Execution, which the King in his Proclamation forbids; but for the Peoples ſatisfaction the Parliament publiſhed a ſevere Declaration to the ſame effect as their former Remonſtrance; only this was added.

That the King at his being in Scotland had countenanced the Iriſh in their Rebellious Deſigns, and that his connivance was manifeſted by his tedious with-holding the Proclamation whereby they were not declared Traytors till Jan. 2. being almoſt a Quarter of a Year after the breaking out of the Rebellion, and then had

'appointed but forty Copies to be printed, and none of 'them to be published without his pleasure signified, 'whereas his Proclamations against the Scots had been 'dispersed throughout all the Kingdom with publick 'Prayers and Execrations. In answer the King tells them, That as to the Irish, his Council in Ireland had desired them no sooner, nor so many Copies by twenty, as he had Signed and sent them. The K. writ a Letter to his Privy Council of Scotland, to remove all suspicion of those imputations so frequently laid to his Charge of being Popishly affected to be guilty of the bloodshed in Ireland, and to bring in Forreign Forces, and so They returned a respectful answer, interposing their Mediation to heal the Breach before it grew wider, humbly desiring the King to hearken to his Parliament, as his greatest, his best, and most unparalleld Council; and discouraging him from any personal Journey into Ireland. This Message was sent by the Earl of Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, after which the Scots Petition the King's Privy Council there, Not to meddle with any verbal or real Engagement for the King against the Parliament. Hereupon the English Parliament publish a Protestation, vindicating their proceedings, and declare the great sense they had of the Affection of their Scotish Brethren manifested in so many particulars, and especially in this Petition.

The Kings Guard increases at York, which the House Voted a preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of Trust reposed in him by his People, and that all such as serve him are Traytors to the Laws of the Kingdom, by the Act of 11 Rich. 2. and the 1 Hen. 3. This was followed by another Declaration of the misactions of the King, and their own Priviledges, which the King answers and they again Reply to; and May 28. the Parliament ordain, That all Sheriffs, Justices, &c. stay all Arms and Ammunition going to the King at York: The King on the other side forbids the Trained Bands and Militia of the Kingdom to obey any Order or Ordinance of any of the Houses; and divers Members of

of both Houſes withdrew themſelves to the King, whereupon the Parliament ordered, That all ſuch as did not appear by June 16 ſhould be fined 100 pounds toward the Iriſh Wars, except employed by Parliament The Queen had pawned the Crown Jewels in Holland for Money to be tranſported to the King; upon which they order, That whoever ſhall pay, lend, ſend, or bring any Money in Specie into this Kingdom, upon thoſe Jewels, or accept of any Bill hereafter, ſhall be an Enemy to the State.

June 2. The Parliament ſent the King Nineteen Propoſitions: 1 That the Kings Privy Council, great Officers, and Miniſters of State may be ſuch as the Parliament ſhould approve; and that an Oath be tendered them. 2. That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament except ſuch matters as are tranſferr'd by them to the Privy-Council and to be concluded by the Major part of the Nobility under their hands, the full number not to exceed Twenty Five, nor to be under Fifteen. If any place ſhall fall void in the interval of Parliaments then that the major part of the Council chuſe one to be confirmed at the next Seſſions of Parliament. 3. That all great Officers of the Kingdom ſhall be choſen with Approbation of Parliament. 4. That the Government and Education of the Kings Children, be by appointment of Parliament. 5. That their Marriages be treated by Parliament. 6. That the Laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, and others be executed, without Toleration or Diſpenſation, except by Parliament. 7. That no Popiſh Peer have Vote in Parliament, and their Children be educated in the Proteſtant Faith. 8. That Church-Government be reformed as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. 9. That the Militia be ſettled as the Parliament have ordered, and that the King recal all his Declarations, publiſhed againſt their Ordinances therein. 10. That all Privy Councillors and Judges take an Oath to maintain the Petition of Right, and other Statutes, which ſhall be made this Parliament. 11. That all Officers placed by Parliament hold their places, Quam diu bene

se gesserint, as long as they shall act justly: 12. That all Members of Parliament put out be restored again 13. That a Justice of Parliament pass upon all Delinquents, and that they appear or abide their censure. 14. That the general Pardon pass with Exceptions, as shall be advised. 15. That all Forts and Castles be disposed of by Parliament. 16. That the King discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not raise any other, but in case of actual Rebellion. 17. That the King enter into strict Alliance with all Protestant Kingdoms and States, to recover the Rights of his Sister, and her Princely Issue, to their Dignities and Dominions. 18. That the L. Kimbolton and the Five Members be cleared by Act of Parliament. 19. That no Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their consent.

These propositions were rejected by the King, so both sides prepare for War: The King sending out his Commissions of Array; and the Parliament publish an Order for bringing in Money or Plate to maintain Horse, and Arms for defence of the King, and Parliament; and declare the Kings Commission to be against the Law, and the Actors therein to be disturbers of the peace, and Betrayers of the Subjects Liberty. At this time the L. Keeper Littleton having delivered the Great Seal to one Eliot, whom the King sent for it, durst not stay behind but went to York with several Peers to whom the K. protests; That he would not Usurp any illegal Authority, but is ready to defend them from all Votes and Orders of Parliament, with the true Protestant Religion, the Liberty of the Subject, & the just Priviledges of the three Estates of Parliament; nor will he Engage them in any War, but what shall be for the necessary defence of his and their Rights; Whereupon they all solemnly protest their Allegiance. Then the King sent Letters to Sir Richard Gurney L. Mayor, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs of London forbidding them, upon the peril of their Charter, to levy men or raise Money, for the Parliament, or on any other account, except the relief of

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Ireland or the payment of the Scots. The King publishes a Declaration and descants upon all the Parliaments for the last 7 Months, protesting that hence forward he expects they should break out into disloyal Actions, he Declaims against their making the defence of the King, the pretence for raising Forces: protests his constant Resolution for preserving *Peace Religion*, Laws, Liberties, and expects all his Subjects to Assist him against such *Traiterous* Attempts as would destroy his *Person*, Honour and Estate, and bring on a Civil War; engaging that who ever shall bring him Money, Ammunition, Horse, or Arms, shall receive eight *Pound* per Cent. *Interest* and have security upon his Forrest *Lands*, Parks and Houses. He forbids all Levies of Forces or Contributions without his express pleasure; And minds them of their Oath of *Allegiance*, by which they were bound to be faithful, not to the King only as King, but to his Person, as K. Charles contrary to his Parliaments distinction, betwixt his Person and his *Authority*; his Person at *York*, and his *Authority* in Parliament, and concludes with justifying his Commissions of *Array*, which were now issued out in several Counties. To this the Parliament reply, and the King again to them, which was followed by several Messages to & fro; all which rather exasperated than allayed the difference. And now began England to be divided (as Italy once was into Guelphes and Gibellines) into Royalists and Presbiterians or Cavileers and Roundheads.

The King makes a Progress from York to Nottingham and Lincoln, Summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders to Newark with the most obliging expressions imaginable. And July 11. 1642. sends a Message to the Parliament of his intentions to reduce Hull by force, if not delivered to him, which if they did he would then admit of their *Addresses*, and return such propositions as might best prevent the approaching War; With this Message he sent a Copy of his Proclamation against Sir J. Hotham; wherein he complains of the *Affront* done to his Person by Sir J. and the Earl. justifying that *Acti-*

on; That Hotham having fortified the Town and drowned the Country, had also set out a Pinnace which had intercepted his Pacquet Boat with the Queens Letters, and that the Earl of Warwick contrary to the Kings order had taken upon him the Command of the Fleet; For the Parliament to get the Fleet into their hands, found means to remove Sir J. Pennington and to make Warwick Admiral; after which a Ship Laden with Arms from Holland for the King being ignorant of the matter fell in among the Fleet, and was by the E. of Warwick sent to the Parliament; who now raise an Army for Defence of King and Parliament; the E. of Essex was Capt. General, and the E. of Bedford commanded the Horse. And the E. of Holland, Sir J. Holland and Sir Will. Stapleton were ordered to carry a Petition to the King then at Beverly, To pray him to disband his Forces, to recal his Commissions of Array, dismiss his Guard, and return to the Parliament: All which the King refused.

The Parliament raise Money upon the publick Faith, to promote which, the Ministers were very serviceable, whereby in a short time a considerable quantity of Money and Plate was brought in. The King was likewise furnished with Money from the Queen upon the pawned Jewels, and Contributions from divers Lords, Gentlemen, and the University of Oxford. He goes to Leicester, and proclaims the Earl of Stamford Traitor for removing the County Magazine to his House at Bradgate. He then comes back to Yorkshire, raises a Regiment under the E. of Cumberland, and proclaims General Essex with all his Officers who should not instantly lay down their Arms, Rebels and Traitors; and the Marquis of Hartford is ordered to march against him; he then Summons in the Country, North of Trent and 20 Miles Southward.

August 22. 1642. The King comes to Nottingham, and erects his Standard, to which some Numbers resorted but far short of what was expected; Three days after he sends to the Parliament to propose a Treaty

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by the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir W. Udal; none of which were suffered to sit in *Parliament* to deliver their Errand, so it was sent in by the Usher of the Black Rod, to which the *Parliament* answered, That until his Majesty recal his Declarations of Treason against them, and his Standard set up in pursuance thereof, be taken down, they cannot by the fundamental Priviledges of *Parliament* give any Answer. The King replies, that he never intended to declare the *Parliament Traitors*, or set up his Standard against them, but if they resolve to *Treat*, both Partys shall revoke their Declarations against all *Persons* as Traitors, and the same day he will take down his Standard. To this they answer, *The* differences could no way be concluded unless he would forsake his evil Councellors, and return to his *Parliament*; And that the Arms which they take up for the Parliament, Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be laid down till the King withdraw his Protection from such Persons as are or shall be voted Delinquents, and leave them to Justice, that so their Estates may discharge the publick Debts of the Commonwealth.

The War being now begun the new raised Souldiers commit many Outrages upon the Country, which both King and Parliament endeavour to rectifie: *The* King was Generalissimo over his own, his Captain General was first the M. of Hartford, afterward the E. of Lindsey, and the E. of Essex for the Parliament. *The* Kings Forces received the first repulse at Hull by Sir J. Hotham, and Sir J. Meldrum; Portsmouth was surrendred to the Parliament, and Sir J. Byrone takes Worcester for the King. In September the two *P. Palatines*, Rupert and Maurice arrived in England, and were put into command by the King who had now a potent Army. Sept. 9. 1642. *The* E. of Essex in great State attended on by the Parliament set forth from London to St. Albans and thence to Northampton, where all his Forces met, amounting to Fourteen thousand, having with him the Parliaments Petition, which he was to present to

the King, the effect of which was, That his Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot without tender compassion behold the pressing calamities of England, and Ireland, by the practices of a prevailing Party with his Majesty, to alter true Religion and the Ancient Government of this Kingdom, introducing Superstition into the Churches, and Confusion in the State; Exciting, encouraging, and fostering the Rebellion in Ireland, and as there, so here to begin the like Massacres, by drawing on a War against the Parliament, leading his *Person* against them, as if by Conquest to establish an unlimited *Power* over the People, seeking to bring over the Rebels of Ireland to joyn with them: And all these evil Counsellors are defended and protected against the Justice of the Parliament, who have for the just defence of Religion, the Kings Crown and *Dignity*, the Laws, Liberties, and *Power* of Parliaments, taken up Arms, and Authorized the E. of Essex to be their Captain General against these Rebels and Traitors. And pray the King to withdraw his Person, and leave them to be suppress by his Power, and to return to his Parliament, and that they would receive him with Honour, and Obedience, secure his Person, and establish him and his People in all the Blessings of a Glorious and Happy Reign.

This Petition was never delivered, though Essex sent twice to the King for safe conduct, who refused to receive any Address from those whom he accused of High Treason, of whom the Earl of Essex was one: The King then marches from *Shrewsbury* towards London, upon which the *Parliament* ordered the Forces of the Associated Counties of Essex, Hartford, Middlesex, and *London* to be ready at an hours warning, and that the Lands and Rents of Archbishops and Bishops shall be Sequestred, with the *Kings* Fines about Wards. Col. Fines and Sands were routed at Worcester by P. Rupert, while they endeavoured to take the Town from Sir J. *Byron*, who kept it for the King, but Essex making his approach, *P.* Rupert and Byron quitted it; then

then were Glocester, Bristol and other places made Garrisons for the Parliament; But in Yorkshire & Cornwal the Kings Party grew powerful, and likewise in Wales where the E. of Worcester had got togethera great Army of Welchmen and resolved to march to London and was got a days Journey before Essex, who perceiving his Error of staying at Worcester hastens after the King who turns back to meet him, and Oct. 23. 1642. was a bloudy Battle between Keintonand Edgehill in Warwickshire, where on both sides were slain between 5 and 6000. but night parting them, next day both parties quit the Field, the *King* marches to Coventry, and sends a Proclamation of Pardon to the Cities of London and Westminster, some persons only excepted.

This Battle of Edge-hill was fought on *Sunday*, the same day twelve Month the Irish Rebellion broke out. The King then takes in *Banbury* without a blow, and 2 Regiments of Foot and a Troop of Horse took up Arms under him, from thence he marches to Ox ford, an Essex to London, where he was received with great Honnour; The Parliament to recruit their Army, declare That all Aprentices who will *List* themselves, shall be, free from their Masters for that time; and be received again into service: By which abundance were induced to turn Souldiers; they likewise invite the Scots to come in to their assistance; which the *King* by a Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council in Scotland endeavours to prevent, but in vain. At this time several of the Lords and Commons present a *Petition* to the *King* at Colebrook to desire him to appoint a pace to treat in To which he answered: He would expect them at his Castle of Windsor, and desires them to ha sten the Treaty. But the *King* hearing that Essex had drawn his Forces out of London toward him, and that unless he gained Brainford he would be hemm'd in by the Parliaments Army, who possessed most of the Towns round about; he marches thither that night, where part of Col. Hollis's Regiment made a stout resistance, till the

Lord

Lord Brooks and Col. Hazebden came in to their relief, who maintained the Fight till night, and then retreated out of Town, which the King took poſſeſſion of, with ſome Priſoners, Arms, and Ammunition, 11 Colours, and 15 pieces of Ordinance: Eſſex hearing this came thither with the City Trained Bands, which together made a formidable Army, ſo that the King thought fit to march back to Oxford; This Action in a time of Treaty was ſo ill reſented by the Houſes, that they Voted to have no accommodation: Yet upon conſideration they again Petition him to deſert his Army, and return to his Parliament, but with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly. And now a Letter from one of the Kings Agents in Holland was intercepted; in which he is advertis'd of conſiderable Forces to be ſent over for his Service: from Denmark, likewiſe Arms for ten thouſand Foot, and 25000 Horſe, with a Train of Artillery. In Yorkſhire the E. of Newcaſtle had a ſharp encounter at Tadcaſter with the L. Fairfax, and forced him to retreat: The Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, Hartford, Cambridge the Iſle of Ely, and the City of Norwich, are authorized by Parliament to Aſſociate under the Lord Gray of Wark, and Winchester and Cheſter are gained by them.

Dec. 15. Col. Goring with the Kings Standard, 80 Old Commanders and a ſtore of Warlike Proviſion, joyn with the E. of Newcaſtle, and the City of London Petition the King profeſſing their grief, for his diſtruſt of their Loyalty, with large Proteſtations of their zealous intentions to defend him, with all the love and duty which became good Subjects. The King replies, That he hath a good Opinion of many of them, and could freely pardon all except Pennington the Major, Wilde and ſome others; and concludes with declaring his high diſpleaſure againſt ſuch as ſhall continue aſſiſting his Adverſaries. Many were ſtarled with this Anſwer, but were revived again, when Mr Pryn and the Parliaments Commiſſioners told their Common Council, of the Parliaments reſolution to live and dye in their Defence.

fence. In the North Sir H. Cholmly encounters ſeveral Parties of the Kings Horſe at Malton, and J. Boyning with Sir Mat. Boynton routed a party of 600 Horſe and Foot under Col. Slingſby. Sir Tho. Fairfax takes Leeds with little loſs, where 500 Royaliſts were made Priſoners (ſix of them Commanders) 4 Colours and much Arms and Ammunition were taken; The Kings Forces leave Wakefield and Doncaſter, which are Garriſoned for the Parliament. The E. of Newcaſtle brings his Forces to York, and proclaims the L. Fairfax and Sir Thomas his Son Traytors, and the Parliament proclaim the L. Newcaſtle the ſame.

The Parliament Febr. 1. make Propoſitions to the King at Oxford (which were preſented by four Earls and 8 of the Commons) To diſband his Army and return to his Parliament; to leave all Delinquents to Tryal, and all Papiſts to be diſarmed: To paſs an Act for Abolishing the preſent Church Government and ſuch other Bills as ſhall be prepared in order to a Reformation; All Popiſh Recuſants to renounce Popery; All Malignant Councillors to be removed. The Militia to be ſettled according to the Parliaments mind; ſuch Perſons to be perferred to Great Offices and places of Judicature, as the Parliament ſhall name, and all Juſtices of the Peace lately turned out of Commiſſion again taken in; That an Act paſs to vindicate the Lord Kimbolton, and the 5 Members. And an Alliance be entered into with our Proteſtant Neighbours, for recovery of the Palatinate. That a General pardon paſs, with exception to the Earl of Newcaſtle, L. Digby and ſome others; That ſuch Members of Parliament as have been diſplaced, be reſtored to Offices and Places, and ſatisfaction made them for their Loſſes. On the other ſide the King propoſed, That his Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Ships, and Forts be reſtored: That what hath been done contrary to Law, and the Kings Rights, may be recalled. That all Illegal power claimed by any order of Parliament, be diſclaimed; And as the King will readily conſent to the Execution of all Laws concerning

Popery

Popery and Reformation, ſo he deſires a *Bill* for preſerving the Book of Common Prayer againſt Sectiaries; And that all *Perſons* excepted againſt in the Treaty may be Tryed by their Equals: That there be a Ceſſation of Arms, and a Free Trade. This made way for a Treaty of Peace, but little was done, till Sir Ben. Rudyard one of the Commons, told the *Parliament*, That War would ruin all, So they appointed Commiſſioners to attend the King at Oxford.

Feb. 23. 1642. The Queen landed at Burlington-Key with Officers, *Ammunition* and Mony from Holland; from whence the Earl of Montroſs, and the L. Ogilby conveyed her to York, where ſhe was honourably received by the Earls of Cumberland and Newcaſtle, and began to forme her Army. Coll. Maſſey advances againſt Capt. Bridges, who kept Shudley Caſtle in Glocesterſhire, with 60 Souldiers, for the King. Maſſey ſtorms the Caſtle, but is repulſed, yet next day he poſſeſſed the Garden under the Caſtle, and firing ſome hay and ſtraw made ſo great a ſmother in the Houſe, that he planted his great Guns ſo conveniently, as forced the beſieged to ſurrender upon Quarter, leaving their Arms and ingaging to pay 600 pounds in ſix days for the Goods in the Caſtle or elſe to looſe them. Soon after P. Rupert with 4000 Horſe and Foot making a ſhift to regain it, marches to Cirencester where great part of the County Magazine lay, maſters the Guard and Forces his paſſage into the Town, which in two hours he gained, taking 1100 priſoners, and 2000 *Arms*; And next day he ſummons Glocester, which Col. Maſſey was reſolved to defend, deſerting Shudly Caſtle and other out Garriſons. The E. of Worceſter and his Son the *L.* Herbert had raiſed 1500 Welchmen for the King and marched to the Forreſt of Dean, beating Col. Burroughs Regiment out of Coford near Monmouth; thence they go to Hingham near Glocester, and Col. Bret demands the Town for the King, but was anſwered with ſcorn, for Maſſey with aſſiſtance from Capt. Fines at Briſtol, weakened them with continual Skirmiſhes, till S. W.

Waller

Waller having taken Malmſbury, came to Gloceſter, and joyned his Forces, ſo this Welch *Army* ſpent five Weeks without any Memorable *Action*. Col. Maſſey drew out all his Horſe, with 500 Foot, and ſome Ordinance, and held them play the firſt day, next day the great Guns give the *Alarum*, and both parties engage fiercely and the Welch were like to have routed him, and taken his Cannon, at which inſtant Sir W. Waller comes in, who runs furiouſly upon the Welch, and drive them back to Hingham houſe, which they batter with their Cannon, the Welch ſonnd a *Parley* and ſurrender the place, and themſelves priſoners; and next day Sir W. Waller and Maſſey led their booty in Tribmph to Gloceſter.

The Iriſh Rebels tho defeated at Tredagh and Dundalk were much increaſed, and the Pope ſends Letters to Owen Oneal, and to the *Arch* Biſhops, Biſhops, Nobles, and People, commending thoſe who had appeared in the Quarrel, and exhorts others ro engage, declaring his great joy for their late Butcheries, and beſtowing upon them his Fatherly Benediction and Pardon for whatever Villanies they had committed. By the Popes declaring for them, the Rebels grew powerful, and many who were afraid now openly appeared for them, ſo that all parts of Ireland were overwhelmed by them. This year died Cardinal Richlieu that great diſturber of Europe, his Maſter Lewis 13. deceaſed ſoon after in the midſt of his Conqueſts in Catalonia, leaving for his Succeſſor his eldeſt Son Lewis 14 under the Government of the Queen Dowager: and Card. Mazarine ſucceeded Richlieu.

In 1643. Commiſſioners on both ſides at Oxford began to Treat of the Kings Propoſitions, and the King ſends this Meſſage to the Parliament. That as ſoon a he was ſatisfied concerning his Revenue, *Ships* and Forces, in which he deſired nothing but his Juſt and Legal Rights to be reſtored to him and to perſons truſted by him, *And* as ſoon as the Members of both Houſes ſhould be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and voting in

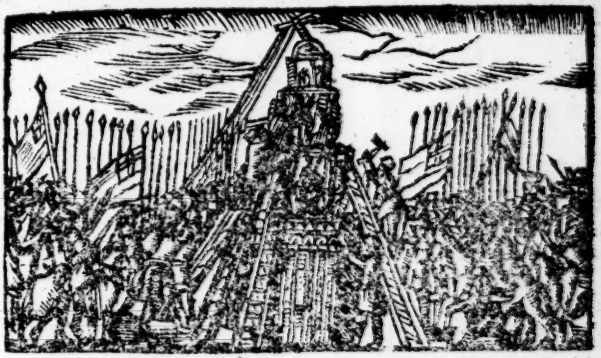
Parliament

Parliament as they had Jan. 1. 1641. excluding such whose Votes had been taken away by Bill, or by new Election or new Writs: And as soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such Tumultuous Assemblies as to the High dishonour of the *Parliament*, had awed the Members of the same, which he conceived could not otherwise be done, but by adjourning the *Parliament* to some place twenty miles from London, such as the Houses should agree upon, His Majesty would then consent to disband the Armies, & return to his Parliament. Upon this Message the Parliament call back their Commissioners, and so the Treaty ended.

In March the L. Brook marched to Northampton, seizing the Ammunition there, and thence to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, and beat Col. Crockers, and Lt. Collonel Wagstaff's Forces out of that Town; and then besieging *Litchfield*, where one of the Kings party shooting at a venture at the window of his Chamber, the Bullet pierced him in the Eye, of which he died, yet his Souldiers heightned with Revenge, took the Close with the E. of Chesterfield and all his Souldiers and Ordinance. After which P. Rupert and the E. of Northampton joyning their Forces fell upon the *Parliamentarians* at Litchfield, where the E. of Northampton was slain in the head of his Troop, yet Coll. Russel despairing of succour, yielded up the place to P. Rupert, and marched to Coventry. April 7 the E. of Essex sat down before Reading, and made two assaults, but was repulsed; The King marched from Oxford to Wallingford for its relief, but Essex's Army having supplies from London, both parties skirmish at Causum Bridge, where many of the Kings Forces were slain, and the Town was surrendred by Col. Fielding Deputy Governour, who was for this sentenced by a Council of War at Oxford to die, but by the Intercession of Friends was pardoned.

May 3. Cheapside Cross was demolished, a Troop of Horse and two Companies of Foot waiting to see it

done,



done, and at the fall of the Top Croſs. Drums beat, Trumpets blew, and a great ſhout was made; Charing Croſs and all other Croſſes in and about London were pulled down about the ſame time.

The Breach between the King and Parliament became wider then ever: ſo that they drew up Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen, 'That ſhe had pawned the 'Crown Jewels in Holland, That ſhe had favoured the 'Rebellion in Ireland, That ſhe endeavoured to raiſe 'party in Scotland againſt the Parliament, and that ſhe 'was in the head of a Popiſh Army in England; With ſeveral other Articles. Upon which Mr *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords, who ſeemed at firſt ſurpriſed, but after agreed to the Charge. The Queen had raiſed an indifferent Army, and leaving ſome Horſe and Foot with Sir C. Cavendiſh for defence of Lincolnſhire, and Nottinghamſhire, ſhe with 3000 Foot, 3 Troops of Horſe, ſix Carmon and two Mortar-pieces met the King at Edge-hill, and went thence with him to Oxford. Several Encounters happened in the Weſt between Sir R. Hopton for the King, and Sir G. Chudleigh for the Parliament, where ſometimes one party was Victorious and then the other. Col. Fines Governour of Briſtol, diſcovered a deſign of R. Yeomans and

George

George Bouchier to deliver up that City to the King, for which they were condemned by a Council of War, and hanged May 30. notwithstanding the Kings Letter to the Mayor and Citizens, and Gen. Ruthins to the Governour on their behalf. In this Month died Mr Pym an active person in the House of Commons. In June Mr Waller a Member of the House of Commons, Mr Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Hasle, Mr. Blinkhorn, Mr. White and others were arraigned at Guild-Hall London, For designing to seize into their Custody the Kings Children, some Members of *Parliament*, then L Mayor, and the Committee of the Militia, all the Cities Outworks, and Forts, the Tower of *London*, and al the Magazines and then to let in the Kings Forces to surprize the City. Upon this Indictment they were Tryed, and Condemned, and Tomkins and Challoner hanged.

The E. Essex and P. Rupert, ingaging about Tame in Oxfordshire, the Prince routed a body of the Horse in Chalgrave Field, where Mr. John Hamden received his mortal wound; but in the West the Parliament took in Taunton and Bridge-water,

At this time finding the want of a great Seal, the *Parliament* Voted, That a new Seal should be made for Confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances; and thereon the Picture of the House of Commons sitting, and on the other side the Arms of England and Ireland and passed this Order, 'That if the L. Keeper Littleton did not return with the great Seal in 14 days, he should lose his place, & whatever should be Sealed after that time should be null and void in *Law*; And Mr. Hen. Martin a Member of Parliament seized upon the Regalia in Westminster Abby; telling his Accomplices, that the time would come wherein there would be no need of Crowns and Scepters. July 5. Sir Will. Waller ingages Sir Ralph Hopton at Landsdown near Bath, where Hopton was hurt, and lost divers Gentlemen, but the Parliament more; Hopton marches to the Devizes in Wiltshire, and Waller after him; whereupon the King sent 1500 Horse from Oxford to Hopton's relief; Wal-

ler draws off to Roundway Down where the Parliamentarians were defeated: of the Foot hundreds were slain, and taken with four Brass Guns, twenty eight Colours, and nine Cornets; Waller having thus lost his *Army*, posts to London with a few followers.

In the North Sir J. Hotham refusing to submit to the L. Fairfax, the Parliament designed to displace him which he discovering by an intercepted Letter, began to form new designs, and his Son Cap. Hotham being suspected, was imprisoned at Nottingham, but made his escape and Treated with the Earl of Newcastle; Upon which Orders were sent for seizing both Father and Son, with his wife, and the rest of his Children who were all sent up *Prisoners* ro the Parliament; Sir John and his Slon were Tryed in Guildhall, the Earl of Manchester and others being their Judges; The Father is charged That he had Traiterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy, as appeared by his words, his Letters and his Actions, and that he held correspendence with the Queen, the Earl of Newcastle and others, to betray Hull to them: His Son was charged with things of the same nature, upon which they were both *Beheaded*. July 4. P. Rupert sits down before Bristol then ill provided for resistance which P. Rupert had notice of from his Correspondent within, so the Governour was constrained after 3 days Siege, to surrender it.

August 12. The Earl of Lyndsey being freed from his im prisonment wherein he was since Edgehill Fight: came to the King at Oxford. Prince Maurice besieged Exeter, flinging in Granadoes, and firing part of the Suburbs, next day he masters the Great Scence, and turns the Great Guns upon the City, and then the Garrison yield, the Officers to march out with their Swords, and the private Souldiers with Cudgels in their hands.

At this time Judge Berkly imprisoned about Ship-money was now fined Twenty *Thousand* Pound, made incapable of all Offices, and to continue a Prisoner during pleasure.

The

The Parliament were busie in recruiting Sir W. Wallers Army; and to incline the Londoners to a compliance, Pennington the Lord Mayor was made Lieutenant of the Tower. Essex musters ten thousand men at Hounslow Heath, but this would not serve for the relief of Glocester, now besieged by the King, so he made use of the Londoners Trained Bands. Massey was Governour and had two Regiments of Foot, and an 100 Horse, which with other Recruits made up 1500 men, with forty Barrels of Powder, and a slender Artillery; yet they allarum'd the Besiegers with frequent Sallies; The King plants his Cannon against the Gates, which made above 150 shot, and the Granadoes did some Execution in the Town, yet nothing abated the Spirits of the People; so the King prepares for a General Storm, and all was ready, they within having but three Barrels of Powder left, when newes comes that Essex was on his march with a powerful Army to raise the Siege, whereupon the Kings Army draw off, and all their Huts were set on fire, and Sept. 5. Essex enters Glocester and furnishes it with provisions. In Ireland the English Army had success against the Rebels, but the King understanding the Parliaments contract with the Scots for aid, thought to strengthen himself by recalling part of his Army hither, and Commissioned the E. of Ormond to conclude a cessation with the Irish Rebels for a year, which was proclaimed by the Lords Justices at Dublin; and soon after some Forces from thence landed in Wales, and took Hawarden Castle near Chester for the King.

The E. of Essex having relieved Glocester, speeds after the King, who passing by Cirencester left a strong party there, where Prince Maurice was expected that night; but instead of him comes Essex, and being mistaken for the other, enters the Town without opposition, seizes 400 men and 30 Cart loads of Provision, and then marches to Newberry, where the King had got the advantage of the ground and planted his Ordnance; Early in the morning, Sept. 20. Essex views the Kings

Army

Army, and in Newberry Common draws up his own and falls to firing, the Kings Army doing the like; *P.* Rupert being overlay'd was forced to fall off to the Right, where two great Bodies of Horse marched down the Hill and fell furiously upon him; both sides act with much valour, coming to handy strokes with their Swords. The Effexians wheeling about charged the *L.* Jermins Regiment, whom they forced through some bodies of Foot. This Battle was bloody on both sides, but greater on the Kings whose other Bodies of Horse commanded by the Earls of Carnarvan Sunderland, were routed Viscount Falkland and many Officers slain, The London Trained Bands, and Auxiliaries did the Parliament great service; Night coming on both Armies retired, and next day marched away from each other. After this several Places were Garrisoned for the *King* by Sir W. Vavasor, as Tewksbury, Shudley Castle, and other places in Glocestershire, but Waller again surprizeth Tewksbury, Massey and Waller take Hereford, and Sir W. Brereton had the Town and Castle of Eccleshal delivered upon Quarter. An Ordinance is now published by the Parliament to seize upon the *Kings* Revenue; And Sir W. Waller is made Major General of Hampshire Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and marching to Farnham beat a party of the Kings *Army*, and then took *Aulton* and *Arundel* Castle, Col. Norton was routed by Hopton, and the Parliament finding the *Kings* Power increase they publish, That whoever shall assist the *King* with Horse, *Arms*, Plate or Money against them, are Traytors to the Parliament, and shall be so proceeded against. The *King* summons the Members of both *Houses* who deserted the Parliament to meet at Oxford, Jan. 22. 1643. the upper Schools being assigned for the Lords, and the Convocation House for the Commons. They consisted of 49 Peers and 130 Commoners. The first Complement the *Kings* used to them was, That if he had the least thoughts of disagreeing with the happiness of the Kingdom, he would not advise with such Councellors as they were: And the first thing they did, was

to

to deneavour to effect a Peace, ſending a Letter under all their hands to the E. of Eſſex to that purpoſe, who returned no *Anſwer*, but ſent it to the Parliament at Weſtminſter. But the *King* was quickly diſguſted at them becauſe they would not comply wholly with his will, and terming them a Mungril Parliament, ſoon after Diſſolved them without having performed any thing.

Jan. 6. 1643. The *Scots Army* entered England by the way of Newcaſtle, being 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, under Gen. Levins; For aſſiſting the *Parliament* in purſuance of a ſolemn League and Covenant; declaring the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, which they profeſs to be Reformation of Religion, Peace of the *Kingdoms*; and to reſcue the *King* from his pernicious Counſellors. The *Parliament* careſſe the Scots and impower them to aſſeſs the Twentieth part of all Malignants Eſtates, in the North beſides what other Counties were aſſeſſed. But the Earl of Newcaſtle marching to attack them, the Lord Fairfax ſent his Son Sir Thomas againſt him. Sir John Meldrum with 700 men beſieged Newark, and is blockt up by *P.* Rupert, but upon *Articles* were ſuffered to march away, leaving their Cannon and fire *Arms* behind. James Marqueſs of Montroſs formerly ſided with the Covenanters, but had now forſaken them, ſo the *King* makes him General, Governour of Scotland, to go into that *Kingdom*, for a diverſion to the *Scots*. In 1644. Sir W. Waller defeats the L. Hoptons *Forces* and takes Winchefter, and Oliver Cromwel was made Governour of *Ely*. Beudly is ſurprized by Col. Fox for the *Parliament*, and the Garriſons of Selby and Heintough are taken by Fairfax.

P. Rupert raiſeth the ſiege at *Latham* Houſe. The *King* at this time in the preſence of the Peers receives the Sacrament at Chriſt-Church Oxon, at the hands of *A. B.* Uſher, where he uſed theſe ſolemn proteſtations: My *Lords*, I Spy here many reſolved Proteſtants who may declare to the world the reſolution I now make, I have to the utmoſt of my Power prepared my *Soul* to become a worthy Receiver, and may I ſo receive Comfort by the

Bleſſed

Bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true reformed Religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy days of Q. Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery; I bleſs God that in the midſt of theſe publick diſtractions I have ſtill Liberty to Communicate, and may this Sacrament be my damnation if my heart do not joyn with my Lips in this Proteſtation. The Parliament Voted it Treaſon for any Member, of either Houſe to deſert them, and go to the *King*, and never to be received again. The *King* marcheth out of Oxford, and is followed by Eſſex and Waller, he defeats Waller at Cropredy Bridge, and Eſſex is blockt up by the *Kings* Forces in Cornwal. The E. of Newcaſtle was beſieged in York two Months, to whoſe relief P. Rupert advanceth with Horſe and Foot, upon whoſe approach the Beſiegers drew off, and thoſe within ſally out upon their Rear; Newcaſtle joyns with P. Repert reſolving to follow and give them Battel, which they did upon a Plain called Marſton Moor, where about 9000 men were ſlain, for the Royaliſts having near routed them, purſued the Chace ſo far, that the Parliament obtained an entire Victory, after 3 hours Fight reſolutely maintained on both ſides: After which York was delivered up and the Parliament became Maſters of all the North, and Levins the Scotch General takes Newcaſtle. After this Battel, which was the greateſt both for fierceneſs and number on both ſides, P. Rupert goes into Lancaſhire, but the E. of Newcaſtle his two Sons, his Brother and about eighty other Perſons, upon diſcontent, refuſed to engage further in the *Kings* Cauſe, and went over to Hamburgh.

New Levies are now made by the Parliament, and 3 Attempts made upon Dennington Caſtle but in vain; The Queen going from Oxford to Exeter was delivered of a Daughter, June 16. 1644. called Henrietta Maria and afterward went thence to Pendennis Caſtle, where ſhe embarked for France, and did not return to England till 1660. Banbury Caſtle is relieved by Sir W. Compton, having been beſieged 11 weeks by the *Parliament*.

Col.

Col. Myn is defeated by Massey near Glocester himself being slain, and 170 Officers and Souldiers taken Prisoners; *P.* Rupert sending 500 Horse and Foot to fortifie Beachly, in order to go to *Aftaferry*, they are routed by Massey, who after takes Monmouth. Newberry seemed destinated for Martial exploits, for October 27. another great Battle was fought there, wherein the Royalists were worsted, and between 4 and 5000 slain on both sides. Nov. 19 Monmouth is retaken by the *Kings* Forces: December 23. Sir *Alexander* Carew was beheaded for endeavouring to deliver up the Island of Plymouth to the *King*. Two Principal Irish Rebels the L. Macguire and Maemahon had been sent from Ireland, and imprisoned in the Tower, whence they made their escape, but being retaken and Tryed, were found guilty of High Treason, and both hanged and quartered at Tyburn, though Macguire pleaded his priviledge as a Peer of Ireland: *A. B.* Laud, having been accused by the Parliament in 1640. as the Framer of the Cannons in Convocations and other Delinquencies, and the Scots joyning him and the E. of Strafford in their Grand accusation, for obtruding the Common Prayer and Cannons upon their Nation, and for advising the *King* to dissolve the last Parliament, and other matters; was first committed to the Black Rod, and 10 weeks after Voted Guilty of High Treason, and sent to the Tower, where he continued 4 years; his Charge was, endeavouring the subversion of the Laws, Religion, and Priviledges of Parliament; And after many times attending on the House, they passed an Ordinance of Parliament, That he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered; but upon his Petition was beheaded.

Jan. 10. 1644. This *Arch* Bishops hot zeal for Church Ceremonies and Uniformity in Discipline occasioned many moderate men to think him too much inclined to Popery, or at least to a reconciliation with the Romish Church, particularly because Baker his Chaplain refused to License a Book about the Gunpowder Treason, saying, they were not now not so angry with the

Papists as about 20 years ago, and must not exasperate them there being now an endeavour to win them by mildness which they were in a fair way of doing That the *Archbishop* had expunged out of the Common Prayer these words; 'From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us. *And* again in another place these words Root out the Babylonish and *Antichristian* Sect which; say of Jerusalem, down with it, *&c.* Cut off those workers of iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion and Faith is Faction. *And* the Lord Falkland in a speech about him and some other ruling Bishops at that time says, 'They have destroyed Unity under pretence of Uniformity and, have brought in Superstition and Scandal, under the name of Reverence and Decency, They have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches to slacken the Union betwixt us, and those of our Religion beyond Sea. They have made it their work to try how much of a *Papist* might be brought in without Popery, and to destroy the Gospel without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by Law. And some have laboured; so industriously to reduce themselves from Rome, that it has given great suspicion they desire ingratitude to return thither, or at least to meet it half way, and have evidently endeavoured; to bring in an *English*, though not a Roman *Popery*; I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but equally absolute. To compel the People to a blind dependance upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themselves and have opposed the Papacy beyond the *Seas* that they might settle one beyond the Water, meaning Lambeth-House.

Doctor Heylin concludes the History of this Archbishops Life, with the Remarks, which person at that time made concerning his conduct. Some said that the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him; That his passions were so strong as made him always incline to severity (or Cruelty) in the High Commission Court; that he was uncivil to

the Gentry and loſt the love of thoſe of Canterbury and Kent: becauſe he never treated nor entertained them as was uſual with his *Predeceſſors*. That in Church affairs he ſeldom adviſed with other *Biſhops*; depending wholly upon his own Judgement. That he preſumed too much on the favour of the King. which not being ſeconded with Power could not keep his head on his ſhoulders. That his deſigns were untimely, when 3 Parliaments had been diſſolved in diſcontent; and the Writs for Ship money ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to every mans Legal Property and Eſtate. That he contrived too many Projects at once which he was not able to manage and in one year ingaged in ſix ſeveral great contrivances. The impoſing the Book of Common Prayer and Cannons on the Scots. 2. The publiſhing the Book of Sports to be uſed on the Lords Day. 3. The removing the Communion Table from the body of the Church to the place where the *Popiſh* Altar formerly ſtood (which was then reckoned a dangerous Innovation) 4. The advancing Parſons Tythes in London much higher than formerly. 5. The reducing the French and Dutch Congregations in London, and in other places, to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, though they produced *Patents* from K. Edward 6. Q. Elizabeth, &c. for uſing their own Form of Worſhip. 6. The repealing the Iriſh Articles of Religion, and their compelling thoſe of England to be received there, contrary to the Judgement of B. Uſher and other learned men: By theſe unpolitick and unadviſed Actions, he drew upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of 3 Kingdoms; of the City of London, and of the Forreign Proteſtant Churches at once, which muſt of neceſſity contribute very much to his fatal Fall and deſtruction.

And Dr. Fuller ſpeaking of him in his Church Hiſtory, ſays, Moſt apparent it is by ſeveral *Paſſages* of his Life, That A. *B. Laud* endeavoured to take up many Controverſies betwixt us and the Church of Rome. And another Author writes, That ſome general Propoſitions and Overtures were made by the Arch Biſhops Agents

for

for a Reconciliation between the Churches of England and Rome, he being very much disposed thereunto, saying, if it were not accomplished in his Life time, it would be more difficult afterward; that he had introduced some Ceremonies approaching near the Rites and Forms of Rome. That Bishop Mountague, L. Treasurer Weston, and several other Bishops of Lauds party, did most passionately desire a reconciliation with Rome, and did daily recede from their ancient Tenents to accomodate with that Church. That the King had reason to publish the Book of Sports, and the Archbishop to take care to set up Altars, to officiate in Copes, to paint the Pictures of Saints in Church windows, to impose Pennance, Auricular Confession, Adoration toward the Altar, and Praying to Saints in a qualified sense, thereby to oblige the Papists, who were brought up and love a Religion accompanied with decency and external spendor; In which he so far ingaged the King, That it was reported he should say, That he would use force to make it received, were it not for fear of Sedition among the People. These actings of this Archbishop (saith Dr. Hoylin) made some zealous Protestants behold him, as byassing too strongly toward Rome; so that the Puritans exclaimed against him as a Papist; and the Papists cried him up for theirs, and had flattering hopes of our coming toward them. And the Composition was in so good forwardness, that Laud and Mountague said, there were but two sorts of People likely to hinder this Reconciliation, Puritans among the Protestants, and Jesuits among the Papists.

Jan. 30. 1644. a Treaty was begun at Uxbridge by Commissioners on both sides, The things to be Treated of were 1. Religion, 2. The Militia, 3. Ireland. The Kings Commissioners gave in this Paper concerning Religion.

First, 'That Freedom be left to all Persons of what 'opinion soever in matters of Ceremony, and that all 'Penalties be suspended. 2. That Bishops shall exercise 'no act of Jurisdiction, nor Ordination without Presbi-

'ters choſen out of the Clergy of each Dioceſs, of the 'learnedſt and graveſt Miniſters. 3. That the Biſhop 'keep his Reſidence in his Dioceſs, except when requi-'red to attend the K. & if nothindred by ſickneſs preach 'every Sunday in ſome *C*hurch of his Dioceſs. 4. That 'the Ordination of Miniſters ſhall be publick, and ſo-'lemn, and ſtrict Rules obſerved concerning their ſuffi-'ciency and qualifications, who are not to be received 'in Holy Orderswithout Approbation of the Preſbiters. '5. That competent maintenance be eſtabliſhed by 'Parliament to ſuch Vicarages as belong to *B*iſhops, Deans, 'and Chapters out of the Impropriations according to 'the value of the ſeveral *Pa*riſhes. 6. That no man ſhall 'be capable of two Parſonages or Vicarages with Cure 'of Souls. 7. That toward ſerling the publick peace, an 'hundred thouſand pounds ſhall be raiſed by Parliament 'out of the Eſtates of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters in 'ſuch manner as the King and Parliament ſhall think fit, 'without the Alienation of any of the ſaid Lands. 8. 'That the Juriſdiction in Cauſes Teſtamentary, Deci-'mals, Marrimonials, &c. be ſetled by King and Par-'liament. That Acts be paſſed for regulating Viſitati-'ons, and againſt immoderate Fees in Eccleſiaſtical 'Courts, and abuſes by frivolous Excommunication, and 'all other abuſes in Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. And if 'the Parliaments Commiſſioners will inſiſt upon other 'things which they think neceſſary for Religion, the 'Kings Commiſſioners will willingly apply themſelves 'so the conſideration of it.

The Paper of the Parliaments Commiſſioners concern-'ing Religion; was, 'That the Bill be paſſed for taking 'away Arch biſhops, Biſhops, &c. That the Ordinances 'for calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines be 'confirmed by Act of Parliament; That the Directo-'ry for publick Worſhip, and the propoſitions of Church 'Government annexed and paſſed both Houſes, be en-'acted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uni-'formity; That his Majeſty take the ſolemn League and 'Covenant, and enjoyn it to be taken by others; That

the

'the Ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct 'Congregations, is by the respective bounds of their 'dwelling; That the Minister and Church Officers in 'each Congregation shall join in the Government of the 'Church as it shall be established by Parliament: That 'many particular Congregations shall be under one *Pres-* 'bitterial Government; That the Church be governed by 'Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies 'to be established by Parliament; That *Synodical* As- 'semblies shall consist both of Provincial and National 'Assemblies, 2. We desire that the Subjects of Eng- 'land may be armed, and disciplined as the Parliament 'shall think fit, The like for Scotland; That an Act 'for settling the Admiralty, and Monies for mainte- 'nance, be as the Parliament think fit; The like for Scotland; That there be an Act for settling all Forces 'by Sea and Land. and Commissioners named by the 'Parliament, such as both Kingdoms shall confide in, 'and to suppress all Forces contrary thereto, and to Act 'as directed by Parliament; So for the Kingdom of Scot- 'land, That the Militia of *London* be in the L. Mayor, 'Aldermen, and Common Council; That the Tower of 'London be in the Government of the City and Chief 'Officers, to be nominated by the Common Council; 'That the Forces of London may not be drawn out of 'the City without their own consent, and that the Ex- 'ample in these distracted times be no President for the Future.

3. 'That an Act be passed to make void the Cessation 'in Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels without 'consent of Parliament, and for prosecution of the War 'by the joint advice of both Kingdoms, and his Majesty 'to assist, and to do no Act to molest and discountenance 'them therein: The Kings Commissioners would not consent to these Propositions but motioned,

If the Articles proposed by them did not give satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as a total abolishment of a Government established by *Law* might be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies; That the

King may be present with the Parliament, and a National Synod may be called to consider of so important a business. 2. For the Militia, that the persons trusted with the Militia be nominated one half by the King, and the other half by the Parliament for 3 years. 3. As to Ireland they justified the Kings proceedings, and would not allow any thing against the cessation; And so the Treaty ended without any effect, The Commissioners on both sides being bounded by their *Superiors*; yet the King was much Taxed about this Treaty, for discovering so much favour to the Irish, and for writing two Letters to the Lord Deputy to hasten the Peace with them, promising that the penal *Statutes* against Papists should not be put in execution, when the Peace was made, provided they continued in obedience: and that when they gave him that assistance which they promised for his English occasions, he would consent to repeal them all by a *Law*, except those against Appeals to Rome and Premunire.

Nay that he had written to the Lieutenant a third Letter for hastening the peace, which rather than miss, he promised to joyn with them against the Scots, and the L. Inchequin, these things the *Parliament* much aggravated against him, and took such care for succouring their Friends against the Rebels, that they were never able to send over the promised supplies to the King. The Marquess of Winchester holding out his house at Basing for the King. Sir W. Waller with his new Levies advances, and storms it thrice in nine days, but was beaten off, and forced to retreat to Farnham; Colonel Norton succeeds with whom joyn Col. Morley, and Sir Richard Onslow. who *fall* furiously to work, with great hurt to themselves; Col. Witherhead comes in with his Regiment and the Besiegers fall to battering, while necessaries fail within; Norton sends his summons which was contemned by the Marquess; the Besieged sally out, and do much execution, Sir W. Waller again faced the House, on whom the Besieged plaid from their Works; The Marquess sends to Oxford for relief,

Waller

Waller again departs, and Col. Gage is ſent with a Regiment, who find Col. Norton ready to receive them on Chinham Down; Gage makes his approach on an Hill near Andover, Norton charges and breaks through the Horſe, but the Muſqueteers force him to retreat thro' Baſingſtoke; and the Beſieged ſallying out brought in many priſoners, Gage brought many Horſeloads of powder and match and a drove of Cattle. November 15. The Beſiegers after 24 weeks raiſed the Siege, having loſt 1000 men before that Houſe: nor had the Kings Forces any better ſucceſs in their long Sieges before Plymouth, Lyme, and Taunton in the Weſt, which coſt the lives of many Thouſands and yet not taken at laſt.

In 1644. The Earl of Montroſs entred Scotland and ſeized Dumfrize, expecting ſome Iriſh to be ſent him by the Earl of Antrim, who not coming according to promiſe, he retired to England, and ſends the L. Ogilby, and ſends Sir W. Rollick diſguiſed into Scotland, who brought Tydings of the great ſtrength of the Covenanters; whereupon he ſends Ogilby to the King for more men, or Arms. Theſe Meſſengers were ſurprized by the Covenanters: Montroſs with a ſmall retinue re-enters Scotland and comes to his Coſen Patrick Graham, where he lies cloſe, until inſtead of ten thouſand promiſed. A. Macdonal brings into the North of Scotland 110 Iriſh from Antrim, with whom Montroſs meets in Athol where 800 Country men join with him. With theſe and other aſſiſtance he meets the Covenanters near Perth, under the E. of Tulliband and other Lords with 6000 Foot and 700 Horſe ready to fight. Sept. 1. The Lord Drummond is beat back to the main body, and Montroſs with a ſhout lets loſe his whole Forces upon them, and puts them to flight; with the ſlaughter of two thouſand and many Priſoners, and the City of Perth taken. After which Victory, divers Lords and Gentlemen come in to him, with whom he ſeeks out the Covenanters who lay at Aberdeen with an Army of two thouſand Foot and 500 Horſe commanded by the Lord

Burleigh, expecting the conjunction of the E. of Argile, and his Forces which Montroſs means to prevent by fighting them; Montroſs had but 44 Horſe, and 1500 Foot, all reſolute men, who routed and purſued his Enemies to the Gates of Dundee, after which he enters Aberdeen; but news coming that the Earls of Argile and Lothian were at hand with a ſtrong body of Horſe, Montroſs unable to encounter them retires to Stragbogey to perſuade the Gordons to engage on his ſide, but they were hindred by the E. of Huntly their Chief and a Royaliſt out of envy to Montroſs: here Montroſs ſkulkt but Argile and Lothian follow him, and near Fary Caſtle they ſkirmiſh, and the Montroſians having the advantage of an Hill, put their enemies to a diſorderly retreat; after which they treat, and ſome of Montroſſes followers are dealt with to betray him, who to ſecure himſelf marcheth to Badenah, many of his men by *Argiles* means falling off from him; and through by-ways comes to Dunkeldon, and frightens Argile out of thoſe thoſe parts. Macdonel was imployed by Montroſs to the Mac Renolds, who uſed ſuch perſuaſions that 500 with their Chief followed him to the Earl, and Patrick Graham brings ſome recruits from Athol; with theſe Montroſs marches into Argile, where that Earl was lifting Souldiers, but Montroſs frightens him away, & diviing his Army into three Brigades, with fire and ſword ruins and deſtroyes all, and ſo departs to Logues, where 5000 Horſe and Foot under the E. of Seafort were ready to oppoſe him, and the Earl of Argile was not far off with 3000 Foot. To prevent their joyning he falls upon Argile, and after a ſhort Fight in which 1500 were ſlain, put him to the Rout, with ſuch terror that they ran 9 miles outright: Montroſs had few killed though many hurt, and Sir Thomas Ogilby dyed of his wounds. The Kings Forces in Gloceſterſhire, take Rowdon houſe after ſtiff reſiſtance made by Devereux and Stephens, and Col. Hopton having raiſed 60 Horſe and 40 Foot for the Parliament is ſurprized and carried Priſoner with all his men to Ledbury in Herefordſhire; But the Parliamentarians

mentarians met with Sir J. Winter and routed him, and another party of theirs surprized Shrewsbury, P. Rupert P. Maurice, the Lord Hastings, Ashly, Langdal and Gerrard with the greatest part of the Kings Forces went into Wales to raise more Souldiers, and the King by his Agents abroad sollicits Forreign Princes for aid, and the Queen Treats with the Duke of Lorrain, who had an Army notorious for all Villany, through Germany and Flanders, but this project miscarried. The K. sends also to Denmark, but that King being engaged in some differences with the Swede, he was forced to make the best provision he could at home.

In 1645. the Parliamkot frame an Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from all publick Imployments; This was past with exceptions of Cromwell and a few others, and was called, The self denying Ordinance; The effect was; 'That all Members of either House shall be discharged of all their commands, Military or Civil conferred by Parliament since Nov. 20 1640. That all other Governours and Commanders (not Members) by Land or Sea shall continue in their Offices, wherein they were, March 30. 1644. Provided that Lieutenants, there Deputies, Custos Rotulorum, Justices of Peace, Stewards or any Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer or Goal delivery; as also that those Members of either House who had Offices by Grant from his Majesty before the Parliament, were by him displaced before the sitting of the Parliament, and have since by the Parliament been restored, shall not be discharged from their said Offices or profits thereof, but shall enjoy the same.

The Parliament being thus resolved to Model their Army, the Earls of Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh surrender their Commissions in the House of Lords, desiring the Souldiers Arrears may be discharged. Upon which the Commons Vote Ten Thousand pound a year to be paid to the Earl of Essex out of the Delinquents Estates for his Service and Losses; and the Earl of Warwick yields up his Commission of Admiral which is in-

truſted with Commiſſioners. The Parliament ele Sir Thomas Fairfax General of their Army, *P.* Skipto Major General, O. Cromwel Lieutenant General: After this new Model, the Kings affairs in all places began to decline.

The Parliament having ſurprized Shrewſbury, Col. Mitten receives Thanks in the H. of Commons for that ſervice, it being the Kings chief Garriſon wherein were taken 8 Knights and Baronets, 40 Collonels, Majors, Captains, and others of Quality, beſides common men, 15 Cannon, many hundred Arms, divers Barrels of Powder, P. Maurice's Magazin. Sir M. Langdale with 2000 Horſe and *Foot* from Oxford beats the Lincolnſhire Horſe, relieves Newark, Belvoy, and Aſhby de la Zouch, marcheth to Pontefract and relieveth the Caſtle, from hence he returns to Newark, ſo to Litchfield, then to the Forreſt of Dean, and beats Col. Dean before Lydney. The King at Oxford takes care to furniſh his Garriſons, and fit his Army for the Field; the E. of Northampton routs the *Parliaments* Northampton Horſe, but M. General Brown, Governour of Abingdon for the Parliament, ſends out ſeveral Parties, who return with ſucceſs. The Houſe of Lords make the E. of Northumberland and his Counteſs, Governour and Governeſs over the Kings Children at Whitehall. The New Model being compleated, Fairfax ſets forth for Windſor, to form his new Army, wherein M. General Skippon was ſo active, that the Parliament ſent him a Letter of Thanks for that and all his former ſervices: Hither comes Lt. Gen. Cromwel, whom the General ordered to march toward Oxford with a Brigade of 1 1000 Horſe and Dragoons to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horſe, which P. Rupert had ſent from Worceſter to fetch off the *King* with his Train of Artillery, and ſome Foot, ſo to imbody and take the Field; At Iſlip Bridge, Cromwel falls upon them and routs them, takes between 4 and 500 Horſe, and 200 priſoners, with the Queens Standard, the reſt fled to Blechington Houſe Cromwel purſues and ſends a ſharp Summons to Windebank

bank who, doubting of relief from Oxford, thinking the Enemy had a considerable strength of Foot, and swayed by the Tears of some Ladies, got thither to visit his Wife, surrendred the House, with all the Armes and Ammunition, which were sent to Ailsbury and the House demolished, for which the Governour, Collonel Windebank is shot to death at Oxford, Cromwel improves his success, and falls upon a party of 300 *Foot*, about *Banton* Bush, and takes them prisoners, with their Arms and Ammunition, and Col. Fines take 150 Horse. 3 Colours, and 50 *Arms*; Sir J. Winter being relieved by Langdale, and obtaining from P. Rupert 2000 Horse, and 1500 Foot, drew all the Glocester Forces upon him, The *Prince* marches all night to his Assistance, and finds Massey before Lidbury whom he gives an *Alarum*; Massey fought the Horse, entertaining the Royalists with hot charges, that the Foot might get off, but being overpowered the Royalists falling on the Foot, did much Execution: Masseys Horse was shot under him by *Prince* Rupert, and Major Backhouse received his mortal wound, divers were slain, and the rest fled.

P. Rupert marches thence with 6000 Horse and Foot, towards Ludlow, and so to Shrewsbury, draining the Garrisons, and joining the lesser Brigade. So he and his Brother Maurice, assisted with Gorings Horse and Dragoons, fetched off the King from Oxford, who with a numerous *Army*, advanceth to the Siege of Chester; Fairfax's *Army* being now compleated, he was ordered to besiege Oxford, the Kings chief Garrison, where most of his *Artillery* stay; Cromwel and Brown being recalled from following the King, to assist therein; May 12. Col. Welden comes to relieve Taunton, upon which the Royalists resolved to give one furious *Assault*, which not taking effect they marched away, and Col. Welden enters the Town almost ruined by Fire, two long streets of Fair Buildings being burnt to the ground, M. G. Massey takes Evesham by storm, Col. *Leg* Governour, being taken prisoner, with 20 Officers, 500 Foot, and

and 120 Horſe, and all the *Arms* and *Ammunition*; Fairfax lying before Oxford, ſent out a party of Horſe and Foot under Col. Rainsborough, to ſummon Gaunt-Houſe; the Governour though at Firſt he anſwered, he lik'd nos Windebank Law, yet ſeeing Rainsborough ready to ſtorm it, he ſurrenders on Quarter.

The King with his *Army* marching toward Cheſter, carried ſuch a terrour that *Sir* W. Brereton quitted the Siege. So he wheels about, and ſits down before Leiceſter, ſending a Summons to the Town, who deſire reſpite till next morning; the Trumpeter returning a Drum was ſent, requiring an Anſwer within a Quarter of an hour, which while they ſpend in Debate, the Kings Cannon play upon the Town in order to a ſtorm; The conteſt continued a day and a night, and the Town was ſtormed in 6 or 7 places, and May 31 was entered; the Committee Men with the Governour, Col. Gray and Hacker were taken priſoners, much Ammunition and the plunder of the Town ſent to the Kings Garriſons thoſe that eſcaped fled to Rockingham Caſtle, and from thence the King marches triumphantly to Northampton, and faces it; In the Weſt Goring, Hopton and Greenvil unite their Forces, and fall upon Weldens Brigade, whom they forced to retire to Taunton in Diſorder, Fairfax was now ordered to riſe before Oxford, and Cromwel marched to the *Aſſociated* Counties, to prevent the Kings irruptions into them.

Col. Vermuden was to join with the Scots with 2500 Horſe and Foot, if the King ſhould advance Northward. June 5. Their Army had a general Rendezvouz at Great Brickhill, who had news the *King* was about Daventry; and reſolved to give him Battle, ſo Cromwel is ſent for, with 600 Horſe and Dragoons; Vermuden returns, and Fairfax ſends Poſt for Sir J. Gell, Collonel Rossiter, and the Governours of Coventry, Warwick, Northampton and Nottingham, to march with their Forces to the General, becauſe there was like to be a ſharp engagement; The King lay ſtill about Daventry and Burlough Hill, which being a place of advantage,

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it was thought he had choſen it to fight upon; but his Deſign was (having relieved Oxford with ſtore of Cattle and Sheep) to march to the relief of Pontefract, and Scarborough; but Fairfax advanceth to Gilborough within 4 miles of Northampton and 5 of Burrough hill; and both Armies lying nigh each other, the Fairfaxians alarm the Royaliſts, and take ſome priſoners. June 13. The King drew off from Burrough hill to Harborough, deſigning for Pontefract, thinking if he were followed; it would be more advantage to fight farther North. Fairfax ſends out Ireton with a flying party of Horſe, who fall upon a party of the Kings Reer, quartered in Naſeby *Town*, takes many priſoners, ſome of the Princes Guard, and *Langdale's* Brigade and gives ſuch an *Alarm* to the whole *Army*, that the *King* at midnight leaves his Quarters and haſtens to Harborough, where the Van of his Army was quartered, raiſes P. Rupert, and calls a Council of War, where it was reſolved to give Battle, and becauſe Fairfax had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out; Fairfax was come from Gilborough to Gilling and from thence to Naſeby, where both Armies drew up in Battalia and face each other.

Saturday, June 14. was fought that Battel which proved ſo fatal to the King. He commanded the main Body, P. Rupert and *P.* Maurice the Right Wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the Left, the E. of Lindſey and the L. Aſhley the Right Hand Reſerve: the L. *Bards*, and *Sir* G. Liſle the Left: Of the Parliaments Army Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main Body, Cromwel the Right Wing, with whom was C. Roſſiter, (who came in with his Forces a little before the Fight) and Ireton had the Left; the Reſerves were brought up by Rainsborough Hammond, and Pride. P. Rupert charged the Left Wing, and Ireton made a norable reſiſtance, but was forced to give ground, being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the face with an Halbert, his Horſe ſhot under him and himſelf taken priſoner; Rupert follows the Chaſe almoſt to Naſeby Town, and

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in his return ſummoned the Train of Baggage and Provifions, who made no other *Anſwer* but with their Firelocks; in the mean time Cromwel chargeth furiouſly on the Kings left Wing, forcing them from the Body, and quite broke them and their Reſerve, during which the main Bodies charged with incredible fierceneſs, often retreating, and rallying, falling in with the But ends of their Muſquets and *Swords*; Fairfax's Foot and Cromwel coming in with his victorious Right Wing, they all charged together upon the K's main Body, who unable to endure any longer, retired out of the *Field* toward Leiceſter, and P. *Rupert*, who too late returned from his too eager perſuit, ſeeing the day loſt, accompanied them in their *Flight* leaving a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who purſued them within 2 miles of Leiceſter.

The King finding the purſuit hot, leaves the Town and haſtes to Litchfield; The *Battle* was bloody, both *Armies* being couragious and numerous, and not 500 odds, fought in a *Field* neer Naſeby, about a mile broad, which was wholly taken up; On the Parliaments ſide were wounded and ſlain above 1000 Officers and Souldiers; Major G. Skippon an old Souldier, who drew up the Battle fought ſtoutly that day, and being ſorely wounded in the beginning of the Fight, the General deſired him to go off the *Field* who anſwered, he would not ſtir ſo long as a man could ſtand; Ireton was wounded and taken priſoner, but in the confuſion of the *Fight* got looſe and ſaw the Victory atchieved: The General and Lieutenant General infuſed valour into their followers, as did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded. On the other ſide the King like a couragious General, kept cloſe with his Horſe often in perſon rallying them. The E. of Lindſey, L. Aſhly, Collonel *Raſtol*, and others were wounded, 20 Collonels, Knights and Officers of note, and 600 private Souldiers were ſlain; but much more was the damage by what was taken, that is 6 Collonels, 8 Lieutenant Collonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns

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with other inferior Officers, 4500 common Souldiers, many Women, 13 of the Kings Servants, 4 of his Footmen, 12 Cannon, 800 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage with ſtore of rich Pillage, 3000 Horſe, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after publiſhed by Parliament; Sir M. Langdale haſtened away the ſame night to Newark, and with this comes news of ſeveral other ſucceſſes, as the gaining of Houghton Garriſon near Grantham, and Sir W. Brerertons beating a party of the Kings Forces in Cheſhire, and 150 Priſoners; and 400 more taken by a party from Shrewsbury took Major Fenningham, and others by C. Stone; Sir John Gell marching with 2000 Horſe took 90 of the Kings ſcattered Horſe, & ſome of Newark Garriſon, and joining with *Fairfax*, they ſate down before Leiceſter, which after ſeveral Aſſaults was ſurrendered by the L. Haſtings: In it were 14 Cannon, 30 Colours, 2000 Arms, 500 Horſe, 50 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition; And Jan. 28. Sir T. Glenham after a long Siege deſpairing of ſuccour yields up Carliſle to the *Parliament*. But Taunton was in a low condition, therefore *Fairfax* was ordered thither, who by the way meets with a multitude of Ruſtical People called Clubmen, declaring themſelves Neuters and deſired ſafe paſſage for their Commiſſioners to go both to the King and Parliament. To which the General returned a Civil anſwer, but that not ſatisfying them, *Fairfax* having joyned with Maſſey ſoon affrighted them into more moderation, ſo that the Army paſſed quietly on their journey.

General Goring hearing of the approach of *Fairfax* drew off from *Taunton*, having received conſiderable loſs from Col. Blake the Governour, and *Fairfax* following Goring, puts the Royaliſts to a diſorderly retreat and purſues them to Bridgewater, and in Sutton Field near Langport. July 10. was a ſharp ingagement, in which there was not much odds in the number of the ſlain, they being in all judged to be about 1100. Of

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the Kings Party were 1400 Prisoners taken and 1200 Horse, Col. Fenningham, Col. Slingsby, divers Officers of Quality, and 30 Prisoners. Sir Tho. Fairfax sits down before Bridgewater, and after Summons assaulted the Town desperately, winning the lower part and then sends a second summons, telling them, That their Denial wrought no other thoughts of compassion in him only to Women and Children, who might suffer by the Governours obstinacy, and so divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Children came out of the Town; And then the General being better provided with Materials gave the second assault, with Granado's and slugs of hot Iron, and the wind serving the Governour Collonel Windham surrendred upon Quarter, and the Town to be preserved from plunder; there being 1000 Officers and Souldiers Prisoners, 44 Barrels of Powder, 1500 Arms, 44 pieces of Ordnance, and 400 weight of Match. In the North, Pomfret castle, and Scarborough were taken by the Parliament. And the Town of Bath surrendred to Col. Okey; In the mean time the Clubmen continued their meetings, and Col. Fleetwood seized 50 of the Ringleaders at Shaftsbury, yet this would not reduce them, they being still about 4000, whereupon Cromwel endeavours by Parley to reduce them to reason; which not succeeding he falls on them, kills some disperseth the rest, and takes 400 prisoners, which utterly quelled them.

The King marching up and down Wales to raise Supplies, comes thence to Lirchfield, and by the way fights a party of Scotch Horse and Dragoons then marches to Ashburn, beats Sir John Gell, and carries some prisoners to Welbeck house, and so ranging up and down with a flying Army, takes Huntington, Camebridge and St Ives, which last Place he fined 500 pounds, thence he went to Oxford, and advanced to Ludlow for the relief of Chester close besieged by Sir W. Brereton; M. General Poynes with a party of Horse was appointed to attend the Kings motion, and on Routon Heath near Chester they came to a Fight, where Poynes was forced

ced to give ground: but Col. Jones coming in with a Supply from Brereton, incouraged Poynes to rally, and so the King beset both Rear and Front, forsook the *Field* and betook himself to Chester, which finding much weakned and the Assaliants ready to storm, he went into Wales. *Fairfax* was before Sherburn Castle, and the Governour *Sir* Lewis Dives, after a furious storm, and a cruel *Fight*, the Castle yielded upon Quarter, with 400 prisoners of Quality, 18 Cannon, and a Mortar-piece. Then Nunney Castle, and Port-head Point, were surrendred to the Parliament. Bristol was sufficiently provided and defended by P. Rupert, Fairfax Summons him to deliver the City, for preventing bloodshed; P. Rupert desired to send to the King, which being denied, he offers to surrender, upon condition, To march away in the height of honour, with their *Arms* Colours flying Drums Trumpets, and as much Powder and Match as they could carry, with Bag, Baggage, Horse, Arms, 10 Guns and fifty Barrels of *Powder*; Lastly, the Lines and Fortifications to be slighted, and the City to be no more a Garrison. Fairfax would not consent to the last; so P. Rupert was forced to surrender.

In this City were found 140 Pieces of Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, Victuals in the Royal Fort for 150 men for 320 days, the Castle Victualled for near half so long; the P. had in Garrison near 2500 Foot, 1000 Horse, besides a thousand Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, so that the gaining it was of great consequence to the Parliament; *Soon* after the Devises, Winchester, Basing House, Lameck-House, Barkley-Castle, and Chepstow were taken; and the King began to be very low, for having got a good body of Horse out of Wales, he resolved to send the L. Digby and Sir M. Langdale with 1600 to Montross, who prevailed against the Covenanters: who marched into Yorkshire, and near Skerborn surprized 800 Foot with their Arms; but staying for Carriages, Col. Copley, Lilburn, and others, came upon them, recovered all

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and took 400 Prisoners, 600 Horse and Digby's Coach and Cabinet of Letters; Digby with the rest fly Northwards, and at Carlisle Sands are again defeated by Sir John Brown, 100 of them slain, 200 Horse taken, and many Prisoners: In their flight toward Beeston Castle; they were again met with by C. Brigs, who took 200 besides 180 of them, who flying through Westmoreland were seized by Vandrusk: so that the L. Digby with a small retinue fled over the Isle of Man, and thence into Ireland, to the E. of Ormond; the Parliament thrived every where, for Tiverton, Langford-House, Carmarthen, Monmouth, Shelford-House near Newark, Worton, near Wiverton, and Welbeck were taken by their Forces: And Hereford having been long Besieged, was thus surprized.

The Governour issued out Warrants for the Country People to come to work in the Town; which Col. Morgan and Birch understanding, they march from Glocester to Hereford in one night, with about 2000 Horse and Foot, and picking out some lusty Fellows, cloath them like Country Labourers, and one seemed to be a Constable with a Warant, to bring these Fellows to work according to the Governours Orders; 150 Firelocks were lodged in the dark near the City, and another Body to second them; so the bridge is let down, the supposed Constable and his Consorts enter, and presently take occasion to pick a Quarrel with the Guard and kill 3 of them; Then come in the Firelocks, and after Col. Birch, and lastly Col. Morgan with the whole body, who soon master the surprized Garrison with small loss on either side, wherein were 11 Cannon, much Arms and Ammunition, the L. Brudenel and and Judge Jenkins, 14 Knights, 4 Lieutenants, 3 Captains, 100 other Officers and Gentlemen, for which Action Morgain and Birch gained much Honour.

Chester had been long Besieged, the L. Byrone was Governour, and Sir W. Brereton lay before it, but now after a resolute Fight 100 Royalists being slain, and 400 taken Prisoners, it was surrendred. The Court of

of Wards and Liveries is voted down by the Parliament. The King being come to Newark as a place of security, a quarrel happened amongst the Great ones; about the L. Digby lately defeated at Sherburn, whom M. General Ch. Gerrard charged with Treason: with him sided the two Princes Rupert and Maurice, the L. Hawly and Sir Richard Willis, but Bellasis the Governour stood up for Digby with divers others; The contention grew hot from words they came to Swords, and the King coming in to part them, increased the Feud by siding for Digby, whereupon P. Rupert and the contrary Party to the number of 400, in disgust laid down their Commissions, and depart to another place, where they stand upon their Guard, the King goes for Oxford with a Guard of 300 Horse, whom Poyns meets at thier return, routs them, and then takes in Belvoir Castle, and the Countess of Derby surrenders her House at Latham to the Parliament. The King at Oxford, with P. Rupert and Maurice now reconciled, was blockt up by the Parliaments Forces, who commands a Fast to be observed every Friday during his Troubles.

In the mean time, the King desiring to come to a Personal Treaty with the two Houses at Westminster, with likely hood of good effect, all was blasted by a discovery of certain Transactions between the King and the Irish out of several Letters taken at Sherburn in the Lord Digby's Coach, and others in the Pockets of the Bishop of Traine, slain at the Battle of Sligo in Ireland; All which were represented with reflections upon the Kings Honour, as if he to get supplies from the Irish Rebels, resolved to make Peace with them upon any terms, tho' never so dishonourable, that is, The granting them an absolute Toleration of Religion, allowing them to chuse a Governour of their own, intrusting them with several Castles and Forts for their Caution: And to aggravate the matter, a Commission directed to the E. of Clanrickard is produced, of some Clandestine Negotiations between the King and the Earl about the same.

In answer to which the King in two Messages, the first

first of January 17 the other of January 24, 'Remonstrates to them how ill a ground these Allegations were for them to refuse to come to a Treaty of Peace with him, since their disloyalty in taking up Arms against their lawful Soveraign compelled him to such Courses for vindicating and defending his Person and Rights as were no way grateful to him, it being his great desire to put a period to these unhappy differences, and the effusion of more Christian Blood, and for the Commission to the E. of Clanrickard. By his Message of Jan. 29. he declared that the Earl having without his knowledge, or the order and consent of the L. Lieutenant and the Council in Ireland made conditions with the Commissioners of the Roman Catholicks, very much to the derogation of his Honour, and the prejudice of the Protestant Religion, he was so far from owning what was transacted; that he had not the least notice of his treating with those Commissioners, much less of his concluding those Articles with them, so prejudicial to Religion, and his Honour, till he had advertisement of his being arrested for his Presumption; his Commission being only for raising what Forces he could there, and conducting them over hither for his Majesties Service: It is not denied but that the Marquess of Ormond had a Commission to treat about a Peace with the Irish; but it was as much for the ease and relief of the Protestant Subjects, as for any other respects, they having been harassed with continual War, and but sparingly supplied with those Aids which they had been so liberally promised.

After this the King offered, To come to the Houses in Person upon assurance of his safety, and to advise with them for the good and safety of the Kingdom, provided that all that adhered to him, may have Liberty to return home in safety, and their Sequestrations to be taken off, upon which condition the King was willing to disband his Souldiers, dismantle his Garrisons and pass an Act of Oblivion to all: But these things being not consented to, the hopes of Reconciliation vanished.

Monmouth

Monmouth was taken by the Parliament, and Dartmouth yielded to Sir Tho. Fairfax, in the Town were 12 Guns, in the Caſtle 20, and 2 Men of War before it were taken; *A* French Veſſel not knowing it ſtruck in with a Pacquet of Letters from the Queen, which diſcovered the whole Negotiation of the King with *France*; then Hopton is routed at Tonnington; Saltaſh and Mount Edgecomb reduced, and P. Charles imbarqued for Silly.

All things ſucceed ſo with *Fairfax*, that the Lord Hopton deſired a *Ceſſation*; and theſe Articles were agreed upon: That the L. Hopton ſhould disband his Army, and have 50 of his own, and 50 of *Fairfax's* Horſe for his *Convoy* to Oxford; all Strangers to have Paſſes to go beyond *Seas*, and carry what is their own without Horſes and Arms, all Engliſh Officers to go home, or beyond Sea, each *Collonel* to have his Horſe and 2 Men and Horſes to wait on them, each Captain one Man and Horſe; The Troopers twenty Shillings a piece, and to go where they pleaſe. But Hopton hearing of the Effects of the *Propoſitions* of Peace, changed his courſe from Oxford, and ſailed it to France; After the disbanding theſe *Forces*, all the Kings Garriſons and *Forts* in Cornwal yielded, except Pendennis *Caſtle*, and St Michaels Mount, and *Fairfax* returned to the Siege at Exeter.

The Kings *Forces* in the mean time moved up and down in flying parties: The King the D. of York, Prince Rupert, and Prince *Maurice* were at Oxford, cloſely ſurrounded by the Parliaments *Forces*. The Horſe being about Farrington, expecting the L. Aſhly with his Foot to joyn them; but he was met by Sir Wm. Brereton, and *Col.* Morgan at Stow in the Wold, totally deſeated, and himſelf with 150 Horſe and *Foot* made *Priſoners*; and his Ammunition with ſome of the Kings Letters taken: In Scotland the E. of Montroſs defeated the *Covenanters* in ſeveral Battles, yet his proſperity was ſhort lived, for the Highlanders, Iriſh and others leaving him, D. Leſly whom the *Covenanters* ſent for

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out of England, came upon him with 6000 Horſe and put him to flight; next year the King having intruſted himſelf with the Scots Army in England ſent to Montroſs to disband and paſs over into France, which he obeyed. The Covenanters put ſome of their Capital Enemies to death, and quarrel with the Parliament about differences then ariſing.

In 1646. The Commons diſable all Members abſent with the King, from ſitting in the Houſe. And Warrants are iſſued for new Elections in their Places; the P. of Wales being in Scilly, the Parliament invite him to come to them, but he would not venture; ſome Overtures were made for a Peace, but came to nothing. The Kings Forces being beaten out of the Field, the Garriſons ſurrender apace, as Dennington Caſtle, Saint Michaels Mount, Ruthen Caſtle, Woodſtock, and others; Exeter after a long Siege is delivered to Fairfax upon Articles, and Barnſtable alſo, who reſolves to march for Oxford; The King to provide for his ſafety came out of Oxford in diſguiſe with Mr. Hudſon a Miniſter, and Mr John Aſhburnham, whoſe Servant he perſonated, and got to the Scots Army before Newark. May 6. Whereupon divers Noblemen, thinking themſelves deſerted by the King yielded to Fairfax; but Sir Tho. Glenham Governour held out the City, and upon ſummons deſired to ſend to the King, which being refuſed, it was delivered. P. Rupert P. Maurice and divers others going beyond Sea. In the City were found 70 Barrels of Powder, 38 Cannon, and great Proviſions. The Duke of York was carried to St. James's to his Siſter the Princeſs Henrietta ſent from Exeter, and after conveyed over into France by her Governeſs the Lady Dalkeith.

Oxford being taken, the leſſer Garriſons daily ſurrender: Banbury, Borſtall, Carnarvan, Ludlow, Litchfield, Worceſter, Wallingford, Gothridge, Pendennis Caſtle, and Ragland Caſtle; The Scots ſet down before Newark, the Beſieged making freqnent Sallies, killing and taking many; But the King being come to

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the Scottish Camp; sends to Governour Bellasis to deliver up the Town to the English, So it was surrendred to Col. Poyns.

In May 1646. The Seals being sent from Oxford to Westminster, were by Vote of the two Houses, broken in the House of Lords. The War after much bloodshed being brought to some end, the Parliament now dispute with the Scots, concerning their keeping of the *King*; who fearing least *Fairfax* should compel them to deliver him up, retreated to Newcastle; The Parliament sent a second invitation to the P. of Wales to come to London, with Honour and Safety, but he refused. Sept. 14th. The Earl of Essex died of an Apoplexy, and the Parliament in respect of his Services voted 3000 pound toward his Funeral, which was performed with great Pomp; soon after *Fairfax* marches to London, being met by the City *Trained* Bands, and had the Thanks of both Houses, and a Congratulation from the City. The King sends from Newcastle about a Treaty, and the Commons vote, *That* the Kings Person should be demanded of the Scots, and that their Army return home upon receipt of one part of their *Arrears*, the rest to be sent after them, and a Committee is appointed to Treat with their Commissioners, about drawing up Propositions to the King, wherein much time was spent. The English denying the Scots any disposal of the King of England, & the Scots as stiffly alledged, 'He was their King as much as of the English; and they had as much 'right to dispose of the King in England, as the English 'could challenge in Scotland; but at last they agreed on sixteen Articles, which were presented to the King at Newcastle, July 27. By the Earls of Suffolk and Pembrook.

The *King* Answers, 'That their Propositions import-'ed so great an alteration of Government both in 'Church and State, derogated so much from his Prero-'gative, and imposed such hard *Conditions* upon him in 'reference to his *Friends* and *Adherents*, and likewise 'that their Commissioners were so bound up from any

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'capreity, either of giving reasons for their demands, 'or giving ear to such desires, as his Majesty should 'propound, that it was impossible for him, with any sa-'tisfaction to his Conscience to give such an Answer, as that thereby a well grounded Peace might ensue; And urges his coming in London, to Treat Personally, but this they refuse, nor would permit the French King to interpose by his Ambassador.

The Scots General Assembly sent a Remonstrance to the King desiring him to settle matters in England according to the Covenant, and Chancellor Lowden told him plainly; 'That there was no other means for him 'to close with his two Houses, and that unless he did it 'if he lost England, he should not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland; But all this could not prevail, So the Scots who had so sharply disputed about the disposal of his Person, are content upon the receipt of two Hundred Thousand Pound to depart and leave the King in the power of the Parliament; who voted him to Holmby House, and sent their Commissioners to receive him from the Scots, who leaving Newcastle in possession of the English, marched home. The King sets forward for Holmby, attended with 900 Horse, being met by Gen. Fairfax, and many of his Officers. The Parliament now freed from opposition, divide into Presbiterians and Independants, and March 19 a Vote was passed for disbanding part of the Army, and dismantling many Garrisons, which discontented the Army, who knowing their own Power, drew near London, and Frame a Petition, whereat the City being startled, they likewise draw up their Petition and Pray, That the Parliament would Command that the Army be removed, and disbanded, and that the City may make yearly Election of their own Militia.

In Ireland all things had gone to wrack these last 4 years; The Parliament sent over Col. Monk with 2000 Horse and Foot, who had some success against the Irish; but resolving to prosecute the War vigorously they send 8430 Foot, three thousand Horse, and 1200 Dragoons

Dragoons more; which were of Fairfax's Army, which caused much animosity, and being incouraged by Petitions from several Counties to the General, not to disband till the Peace of the Kingdom was fully settled; they drew up a Petition to the Parliament: 'Desiring 'provision for pardon and Indemnity; Their Arrears to 'be paid; that the Foot Souldiers might not be prest out 'of the Kingdom, nor Horsemen serve on Foot, that 'the Widdows and Children of such as were slain in the 'Service might be provided for, and that they may re-'ceive Pay to discharge their Quarters, and not burthen the Country till the Army be disbanded. The Parliament, declared their high dislike of it, and voted; That such as continued in this way of Acting should be proceeded against as Enemies of the State. Some Petitions from Essex and other places are presented to the Parliament, against the proceedings of the Army, who sharply Apologize for themselves, and refuse the service of Ireland till satisfaction were given to their desires; the difference was like to have grown wider, but to close the Breach, Commissioners are chosen on both sides for a right understanding; But the Army judge it for their advantage to get the King into their hands.

June 3. 1647. Cornet Joyce was sent to Holmby with 500 Horse, who brought away the King from thence with the Parliaments Commissioners, who would not leave him, promising him, 'That he should have no 'violence done to his Person; that his Trunks and Pa-'pers should not be rifled; that he should be attended 'with such Servants against whom there could be no 'just exception, and that nothing should be imposed on 'him contrary to his Conscience; And so he was conveyed to Childersley, and thence by his own desire to Newmarket; This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his consent and that the reason alledged by the Actors was, because certain Persons had designed to take away the King thereby to make a new War, which they were ready to prove.

And now the Army to the terror of the Parliament come to St. Albans, notwithstanding a Message from both Houses not to come within 25 miles of the City, which the General excuses, saying, 'That the Army was come thither before they received the Parliaments desire; and here he obtains a Months Pay; the Parliament Vote, 'That the General be required to deliver the 'Person of the King to the former Commissioners, who 'were to bring him to Richmond, that propositions of 'Peace might be speedily presented, and that C. Rossi-'ter and his Regiment might Guard his Person; To this the Army would not consent, and sent their Repre-'sentation with these Proposals as the only effectual means to procure a stable settlement; 'That the Hou-'ses may be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit 'there; That such who abused the Parliament and Ar-'my, and indanger the Kingdom, may be speedily dis-'abled from doing the like or worse, That some deter-'minate time may be set to this and future Parliaments, 'according to the intent of the Act for Triennial Parlia-'ments, That provision may be made, they may not be 'Adjourned nor Prorogued without their own consent 'during such a certain time, and then to determine 'themselves; That the freedom of the people (to pre-'vent Grievances) by Petitioning the Parliament, may 'be vindicated. That the exorbitant power of Coun-'try Committies may be taken away, that the Kingdom 'may be satisfied in the Parliaments Accounts for the 'vast Sums received, and also in divers other things 'wherein the Commonwealth hath been abused; That 'after Delinquents have passed their Compositions, an 'Act of Oblivion may be passed.

The Parliament being divided into 2 parties, the Independants countenanced the Army, and the Presbiterians the City in a high manner against the Army; who Impeach 11 of them: For retarding the relief of Ireland: For acting many things against the Laws and Liberties of the people, and for obstructing the Courts of Justice; all which was offered to be proved against them;

them; desiring the accused Members may be suspended from sitting in the House; this was judged a great intrenchment upon Parliament; but the Army persisting, the 11 Members forbore the House, yet to give satisfaction to the Parliament, the Army removed farther off from London, having the King continually near them, who had a great desire to see his Children, which he obtained by a Letter from Fairfax to the Parliament. The Army part in the House of Commons began now to prevail, for a Vote passed for taking the Militia out of the hands of the City, and transferring it to others better affected to the Army, and it was made Treason to procure Subscriptions to Petitions; upon which multitudes of Apprentices, and others flockt to Westminster, clamouring at the Parliament doors, and requiring, That Vote should be repealed before the Members should pass out of the House, and forcing the Speaker back into the Chair, constrained him and them to sit till they extorted this Vote from them; That the King should come to London, and the City have their Militia restor'd to them; And then the Parliament adjourned for four days.

The General who for the ease of the Country was removed to Bedford, hearing this, marches to London, sending before him a Letter to the L. Mayor and Court of Aldermen, of his Resentment of the late outrage, and requires Justice to be done on the Offenders. At Hounslow he is met by the Speakers of both Houses, and such of the Members as sided with the Army, who complained of the violence offered them, and there they consult how to get the City without blood; In the mean time the contrary party meet together in Parliament, chuse new Speakers, the 11 Members being again admitted, And confirm the last extorted Votes, and to put the City into a posture of defence, order Souldiers to be listed, and M. G. Massey, Col. Poynes, and Sir W. Waller to command them, and the Citizens published a Declaration against the Army: Yet upon Fairfax's approach many dissentions arose; and at Guildhall they

fell from words to blows, divers being wounded and slain, and the Court of Aldermen writ to the General charging all upon some particular Persons; Fairfax sends a Brigade over Kingston Bridge to Southwark, who take in the great Fort on the Highway to Lambeth. The Common Council speed away many Messages for a pacification, which the General with the consent of the Members of Parliament then present granted, upon condition, That they should desert the Parliament then sitting, and the 11 impeached Members, and to deliver up the Tower and their other Forts; which they were glad to submit to; presently a Declaration was published for making void all Acts passed by Parliament since July 26.

August 6. 1647. General Fairfax marched in Triumph to Westminster, and re-established the disturbed Members of Parliament, receiving their publick Thanks for vindicating them from the injurious usage of the Citizens, and next day he marched through the City with his Army, being Twenty Thousand Horse and Foot to the Tower, and a Months Pay was given to the Army for a Gratuity for their good service; The General had his head Quarters at Kingston, and the King was settled at Hampton Court with his Children about him; whither the Earl of Ormond repaired to him, having by his Command quitted his Government in Ireland to the Parliaments Commissioners; Inquiry being now made into the Actors and Fomentors of the late Transactions, they were proceeded against at the discretion of the Judges, Mr Glyn was turned out of his Recordership. Sir John Maynard was impeached of Treason, Hollis, Sir W. Waller, Clothworthy, Massey, Long and Nichols were summoned to attend the House. October 16. Sir John Gayer Lord Mayor, and 4 Aldermen, were committed to the Tower and 7 Lords to the Black Rod; and to pull down the pride of the City, both Houses order the casting down all the Works about it, and the dividing their Militia, impowering Westminster, Southwark, and the Hamlets of the

Tower

Power each to have its distinct Militia. The Army being behind in Arrears, the Parliament, order them some Money at present, and then drew up propositions of Peace to be sent to the King at Hampton Court, the same in substance with those at Newcastle, and had the like effect. Episcopacy being always the main objection, which the Parliament were resolved to abolish, and the King would not consent to; and his answer of September 9. seemed rather to incline to the Army than Parliament, which was much to his prejudice; About this time the Parliament vote 6000 Foot, and 2400 Horse and Dragoons to be sent into Ireland, and 7200 Horse and 1000 Dragoo , to be kept as a standing Army in England. But the Officers elect out of every Regiment a certain number of Souldiers to meet and consult bythe name of Agitators, who drew up a Letter to Fairfax, desiring, 'That he would take some course 'to settle the Nation in Peace, and to secure those who 'had fought against the King, from standing in need of 'asking him Pardon, or receiving Indemnity from him: 'That Parliaments may be determined to certain periods 'of time, and that care be taken for due election of 'Members for the future, and for Payment of the Armies Arrears, that they may not be burthensome to the 'Countrey.

To whom Sir Thomas Answers, 'That he had a 'good opinion of the honesty of their Intentions and re'ferred their desires to the General Council of Officers.

The Scots Commissioners send a Letter, Nov. 6. 1647. to the Speaker of the House of Commons, requiring, That the King may be admitted to a Personal Treaty, that he should not be carried from Hampton Court violently, as he was from Holmby, but that Commissioners of both Parliaments may freely pass to and from him to Treat for the settlement of the Kingdoms; This put the Parliament upon new propositions; During which, the King is informed that his Person was in hazard by the Agitators, So he consults with Sir J. Berkly, Mr. Ashburnham, and Col. Legg, how to prevent the danger,

and is resolved to escape to the Isle of Jersey, a Ship is prepared about Southampton, and Horses lodged near Hampton Ferry. So November 11. withdrawing himself as usual before Evening Prayer, he with his 3 Confidents escaped to his Horses by the way of Paradise, a place so called in the Garden, leaving behind him a Letter to the Parliament, which was delivered them, wherein he promised to break through that Cloud of retirement, and shew himself to be really Father of his Country, if he might be heard with Freedom, Honour and Safety; but coming to the Sea-shore, he found himself disappointed of the Ship; so the King and Col. Legg went to the Countess of Southamptons house at Tedsworth, whil'st the L. Berkly and Ashburnham ferried over to the Isle of Wight to Governour Hammond, of whom the King had some hopes, because his Brother Dr. Hammond, was his Chaplain, to whom they were to signify, 'That the King having escaped from imminent dan-'ger of Assassination was willing to cast himself upon his 'fidelity, if he would ingage upon Oath for the safety 'and Liberty of his Person; Hammond would ingage for his safety, but not for his Liberty, and they fearing to be taken into Custody, came over with him to the Ladies House, where the King was; who finding he was necessitated, cast himself upon Col. Hammonds Protection; he certifies the Parliament of it, and they ordered his continuance there, with the same attendance he had at Hampton Court.

The King being at Carisbrook Castle writes a Letter to the Parliament, and another to the Scots Commissioners, wherein he professes, 'That he cannot either as 'Christian or a King, consent to the abolishing Episcopal 'Hierarchy, because he judged it Apostolick and had 'sworn at his Coronation to maintain it, but he was wil-'ling that the Presbiterian Government should continue 'for three years, and a free debate to be had between 'the Divines Assembled at Westminster, and 20 that 'he should appoint, about the settlement of the Church 'Government for the Future; He is also willing that the Par-

shall

'shall dispose of the Militia, and have the choice of his 'Privy Councellors during his Reign, provided they 'have it by Patent from him, and that it return to his 'Successors: that the Arrears of the Army should be 'paid, and he will use his utmost endeavour for raising 'up much money; These and some other proposals be made, promising likewise to satisfy Scotland when he shall receive his desires for a personal Treaty, which the Parliament refuse, yet after three days debate they were content to admit of it, provided he would sign these four Bills.

1. That it be lawful to order the Militia without the Kings consent, and to raise what Arms they please; All others under pain of Treason to be prohibited to assemble to the number of 30 Persons without Authority of Parliament. 2. That it be lawful for both Houses to sit or adjourn to what place they please, and to assemble at their own discretion. 3. That all Declarations against either of the *Houses*, be declared void. 4. The Nobility the King hath dignified with Titles from the time he carried away the Great Seal shall be degraded of their *Honours*.

These *Propositions* were carried to the King; But the *Scots Commissioners* protesting against them, the King refused to sign them, desiring the *Commissioners* to tell the 2 Houses, that there were different Interests to be complied with, namely, the Parliament, the Army and the Scots requesting, that some means might be found out to content all, without which a well grounded *Peace* could never be established. *The Kings* refusal so offended the *Commons*, that they put it to the Vote, Whether any more Addresses should be made to him, and after a long debate it was Resolved. 1. That no 'Addresses shall be made hereafter to him by the Parliament of England. 2. That none shall under pain of 'Treason make any Addresses without leave from their 'Parliament. 3. That no written Paper, Message or 'Declaration be received from his Majesty on penalty of 'Treason; which votes were so well resented of the Army

that having now no further need of their Agitators, they reduce them into Order, and publish a Declaration wherein they approve of the Commons proceedings, and their resolution to stand by them in their Votes, even against the King himself, or any other that shall join with him; The Lords after many days tugging, assented to the Votes of the House of Commons; Colonel Hammond had turned away the Kings Servants and and used him a little severely, which occasioned a Mutiny at Newport, in the Isle of Wight where *C. Burleigh* beat up a Drum for the *King*, but was taken, hang'd and quartered as a Traitor: and more Forces are sent at Col. Hammonds request to secure the *Island*.

And now both Houses Vote, That the Committee of Derby House have full power to transact the business of the whole *Kingdom*. and to dispose of the *Army* commanded by *Sir* Tho. Fairfax, who is impowred to place and displace the Kings Attendants, provided he allow him not above 30. and soon after he becomes Lord Fairfax by the Death of his Father; *About* this time Judge Jenkins was brought to the Bar of the House, where he refused to kneel; His *Charge* was read against him; 'That he had passed sentence against men to be hanged and quartered for not assisting against the Parliament; 'That he took up *Arms* himself, and stirred up others 'against them, and had charged them with counterfeiting the Great Seal; which he was so far from denying, that he owned more than they accused him of, endeavouring to terrify them with the numerousness of the Royal Issue; which so provoked the House, that he was fined a thousand Pounds, and a Charge drawn up against him. The Marquess of Ormond yielded up the Irish Government to the Parliament, by whom Col. Jones was sent with 1450 *Horse* and Foot, to Dublin, and made Governor of the City; Sir Charles Coot defeated a Party of the Irish; and then marches with 3000 men against *Gen.* Preston, who being 8000 strong put him to flight, doing much execution in four miles persuit; but *Aug.* 8. they came to a second encounter near Trym,

where

where Col. Jones beat Preſton out of his Bogg; killed 5470 ſouldiers, 300 Gentry, took 150 Oxen and improving his Victory, takes 13 Caſtles. The L. Inchequin gave a defeat to another Party of Iriſh in Munſter, killing and taking four thouſand men; ſo that now the Parliament not needing the Scotiſh Forces in Ulſter, were earneſt to have them recalled.

The year 1648. begins with the Viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford by the new Chancellor the E. of Pembrooke, but the Heads and Principals would neither own the Authority nor the Covenant, for which many were outed, and the Parliament Vote, 'That all who will 'not ſubmit to their Power ſhall be expelled the Uni-'verſity, and all the Colledge Rents to be paid to Vi-'ſitors by them appointed. This Summer the King though a Priſoner was as formidable as ever, for in London April 9. the Apprentices ſet upon the Trained Bands, and increaſing divided into Parties; one made toward Whitehal, but were repreſſed by the Horſe Guards at the Mews, yet at night they join again, ſurprize Newgate and Ludgate, and ſhut up the Gates; then they ſeize a ſmall Cannon at the L. Mayors Houſe, which they place within Ludgate, next morning they break open ſome Gunſmiths Shops for Arms, and maſtered the Magazine at Leadenhall, crying out for God and K. Charles; But next day General Fairfax entred Alderſgate with 2 Regiments, marched to Leadenhall-ſtreet, and Charged the undiſciplined multitude, who after a ſhort tumultuary ſkirmiſh, were diſperſed with little loſs.

In Wales Col. Poyer Governour of *Pembrook* Caſtle, refuſed to deliver up his Charge without Payment of his Arrears, and M. G. Langhorn for the ſame reaſon denied to diſband his men, ſo both revolt, and Langhorn ſurprizes Tenby Caſtle with the Parliaments Commiſſioners in it, commanding contribution round about, and declares for the King. Col. Horton is ſent againſt them with 30 Companies of Horſe and Foot, who ſends out Col. Fleming to gain a paſs from Poyer, which he finds

quitted, but going on, falls into Poyers Ambuscade, by whom he is forced to fly with a few others to a Church, which unable to defend, he died its thought by his own Sword, and the rest were taken Prisoners; and Chepstow Castle was taken by Sir Tho. Kemesh in the Governours absence.

But now the Tide turns, for Cromwel advancing to suppress them; Langhorn resolved to fight Horton before his coming; who marched to meet him, and May 8. near St. Fagons, views his Enemy near 8000 strong, but unready to Fight. So Horton charged them, killed some, took 1500 Officers and 5000 Souldiers *Prisoners*, but Lanhgorn and Powel escaped. Cromwel enters Wales, storms Tenby Castle, which yields on mercy, and Chepstow Castle was re-taken by Col. Ewer; Sir John Owen while Cromwel besieged Pembrook Castle raised some Forces in Northwales, which the Sheriff attackt, but was defeated and taken Prisoner, and the same fortune befel Owen, by the Forces of M. G. Mitton; Pembroke Town and Castle stood out till they were so distressed, that they would have surrendred upon any other conditions than to yield upon discretion; Cromwel gives a furious storm, which the Besieged resolutely endured; But the Scotish Invasion made him inclinable to Treat, and the Town and Castle was delivered upon Articles, July 13. *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and three others to submit to mercy, the other Commanders to depart the Kingdom for two years, the rest to return home, and the Town to enjoy their Liberties, those that submitted were tryed as Traytors, but cast lots for their Lives, and so Col. *Poyer* only suffered. The D. of York in Womens *Apparrel* escaped from St. James's, and landed at Dort in Holland by the help of one Collonel Bampfield sent over for that purpose by the Queen.

The Countrey displeased, that after such expence of men and money, there was no likelyhood of Peace, but rather of new Wars, resolve to *Petition*; the County of Essex begins, desiring the Parliament, That the *Army* may

may be disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty; Surrey desires the like, only in higher Terms, and being numerous quarrel with the Souldiers at Westminster, and came to blows, some hurt was done on both sides, but night parts the Fray; London Petitions That those prisoners who stood committed for the insurrection in Masseys business might be released; as they were soon after upon the Cities adhering to the Parliament, and refusing to send aid to the Kentish men against Fairfax; and the Militia restored, M. G. Skippon being appointed Commander of the City and all the Forces within the lines of Communication; the Lieut. of the Tower was discharged, and Mr. West a Citizen put in his place, and Col. Barkstead and Rich were ordered to draw their Regiments out of Whitehall and the Mews, instead of which, the Common Council of the City order a Guard for the Parliament, and 600 pound yearly for the Major General; and all this with the Generals approbation. The Kentish men would not Petition but with Sword in hand; so that Fairfax marches against them with 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, the Kentish men were 2000, but sent away a Brigade to besiege Dover Castle; Fairfax advances and defeats some near Gravesend, and others at Northfield. At Maidstone they were drawn up in a Body, the Town strongly man'd, provided with Ordnance and Barricado'd; Fairfax having increased his Army to 10000 falls to storming, whilst those within fought stoutly both in the streets and Houses, so that getting all by Inches, after 6 hours fight, and much loss on his side, 200 Kentish were slain, and 1300 Prisoners taken, divers of Quality; 400 Horse, 8 Cannon with good Booty. Rochester was surrendred upon discretion. Many of the Kentish men get together under the L. Goring, and crossing Greenwich Ferry into Essex, join with Sir Ch. Lucas, who had raised 2000 Horse and Foot, seized the E. of Warwicks Armory, and got into Colchester, which is now the seat of War, the Country flocking in

to

to them with a party from London, and the Lord Capel and the *Lord* Loughborough from Herefordshire.

Fairfax leaving Col. Rich and Hewson to reduce Kent; croft Essex and came to Colchester, with a potent Army. The Seamen being now dissatisfied, divers Ships with Vice Admiral Batten went to P. Charles who sets to *Sea*, with his Brother the D. of York, P. Rupert, the E. of Brainford, the Lords Hopton, Wilmot, Willoughby, Culpeper, and others of Quality, and came into Yarmouth Road with 20 good Men of War, and 2000 Souldiers, where he would have landed; but hearing of Col. Scroops coming with a *Party* of Horse and Foot, he sailed thence to the *Downs*, seizing what Merchant Ships he could meet withal; Deal *Castle* was besieged, for the relief whereof the Prince sets 500 men ashore, who charged handsomely, but being too weak most were taken or slain; soon after Sandwich, *Deal* and Weymouth *Castles* were yielded up, and all Kent fully reduced; whilest the P. Anchors in the Downs, the *States* of Scotland invite him thither, ingaging the publick Faith of that Kingdom for his safety, with them and their *Army* in England or where he pleased, but he having writ to the House of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the E. of Warwick Admiral for the Parliament to submit to him, as *Cap.* General under the *King:* and wanting Provisions, returned with his *Fleet* into Holland. But the E. of Holland being Commissioned from the P. raises Forces just in the view of the *Parliament* at Kingston upon Thames, assisted by the D. of Buckingham, L. Francis Villers, his Brother & the E. of *Peterborough*, mustering five hundred Horse and *Foot* upon Kingston Heath, and from thence marched to Darkin, designing to possess Rigate, but being prevented by Col. Rich, & Major Gibbons, they retreat toward Kingston, closely pursued and sending their *Foot* before, to secure their retreat to the Town, they made a stand betwe en Ewel and Nonsuch Park; the pursuers follow, the Fight was short and smart, the L. F. Villers refusing Quarter was slain

ſlain, with Major Dalbier and a Son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and others; the reſt put to flight, and many Priſoners of note taken; the Earl of Holland was taken at St. Neots in Huntingtonſhire, and ſent Priſoner to Warwick Caſtle, but the Duke of Buckingham eſcaped beyond Sea.

Colcheſter holds out, making frequent Sallies on the Beſiegers, hoping for relief from the North. The Parliament of Scotland were ſo diſguſted at the proceedings of the Engliſh againſt the King, that tho' the Parliament offered to pay their *Arrears*, and ſettle the Preſbiterian Government here, yet they form a Committee of danger about the Engliſh *Affairs*. The Major part being Hamiltons Faction, Vote War which the others proteſt againſt, but to no purpoſe, for the Scots publiſh their Declaration, 'That his Majeſty may come to London, or to ſome of his Houſes near, with ſafety; That reparation be made for carrying him away, by puniſhing them that did it: That the *Army* under the *L.* Fairfax be diſbanded; that *Preſbitery* be ſettled, Sectaries puniſhed. That all the Members of the Houſe be reſtored; The Royaliſts flock a pace to Edenburgh, and Wogan a Captain in the Engliſh *Army*, revolts to them with his Troop and 2 Companies of Foot landed out of Ireland in Cheſhire.

Berwick is ſurprized by the Royaliſts; Sir *T.* Glenham, and Sir P. Muſgrave raiſe Forces for the King in Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, and ſurprize Carliſle; with them joins Sir Mar. Langdale with ſome Horſe; who being General of the Engliſh *Army* for the King, and 3000 ſtrong, they coaſt about the Northern Counties. July 13. 1648. The Scots *Army* entred England, the Van led by D. Hamilton, the Main Body by M. G. Middleton, and the Reer by the E. of Calender, theſe join with Langdale, and fall upon Major General Lambeth near Appleby, forcing him to retire into the Town, thence to Kirby Steven, and after to Bowes, leaving ſome of his Forces behind him to defend the Caſtle, which was beſieged, and taken by Sir *P.* Muſ-

grave

grave; Col. Boynton Governour of Scarborough Caſtle declares for the King, and Pomfret Caſtle was ſurprized by Major Morris; Tinmouth Caſtle revolts but was retaken by Sir *Arthur* Haſlerig.

The Scots retreat to Kendal in Weſtmoreland, Lambert increaſed his Forces, and Cromwel having quieted Wales, marches to join him, taking Pomfret Town (but not the Caſtle) in his way; Hamilton leaves Kendal, and marches into Lancaſhire, intending for London; which the Engliſh Army deſigning to hinder, march to Preſton, where Hamilton and Langdale lay with 24000 Souldiers; Cromwel and *Lambert* had about 5 thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and 7000 Foot: Auguſt 17. both Armies faced each other; Major Smithſon commanded the Forlorn of the Engliſh, who charged furiouſly on the other, routed them, and Alarum'd the whole Army, and ſo the Battles join on a Moor 2 miles Eaſt of *Preſton*; the Fight was hot for 2 hours, but then the Scots gave ground, and the Engliſh purſued ſo fiercely, that they were forced to divide; a Body of three thouſand Horſe moving toward Lancaſter, was purſued by Col. Twiſſelton, who took multitudes of Priſoners; the other part, Horſe and Foot, march over the River Ribel, whom the Engliſh follow, and at Ribel Bridge the Scots make a ſtand, defending the paſs ſtoutly for 2 hours, even to puſh a Pike, but were conſtrained to retire; but next morning the Scots drew up on an Hill, on the ſide of Preſton, whence being forced by the Engliſh, they fled in diſorder to Wiggan, which they plundered, and marched toward Warrington, the Engliſh ſtill purſuing them; the Scots taking advantage of a paſs, make another ſtand, but were again beaten with the loſs of a thouſand men to the Bridge, where four thouſand Foot, being deſerted of the Horſe, laid down their Arms and ſubmitted to mercy; Hamilton eſcaped with three thouſand Horſe to Nantwich, where the Country being in Arms, ſeized five hundred of them; Cromwel marches to *Cumberland*

land to meet Monroe, ordering all the Parliament Commanders in those Counties to follow the flying Scots, by some of whom M. G. Middleton with 400 Horse, was defeated and taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersed, Hamilton was seized at Uxeter.

In this Fight the English took more Prisoners than their whole Army amounted to; the Colours were hung up in Westminster Hall; Sir Mar. Langdale was apprehended in an Inn, Cromwel comes to Durham to look out Monroe supposed to be 6 thousand strong who joining with the E. of Lanerick, both together made eight thousand Horse and Foot. To oppose whom the Presbiterians provide an Army under the E. of Argile, David Lesley being Lieutenant General. Cromwel enters Scotland, and publishes this Declaration; 'Whereas 'we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of 'England into the Kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of 'the remaining part of the Enemy, who lately invaded 'the Kingdom of England, for the recovery of the Gar-'risons of Berwick and Carlisle; These are to declare, 'that if any Officer or Souldier under my command shall take or demand any money, or shall take any Horses, 'Goods or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the 'People in any sort, he shall be Tried, and punished 'with Death by a Council of War. Argile, Lowden, Leven, and other of the Scots Nobility repair to Cromwel, and contract with him for subduing the publick Enemy, and so much was he feared in Scotland, that this Agreement was consented to, 1. That the Armie under Argile and the other under Lanerick, and Monroe 'with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in Scotland 'be disbanded, and Berwick and Carlile be delivered 'to the English. 2. That the settlement of Religion at 'home, and promoting Reformation abroad be ordered 'by the determination of the General Assembly, and 'all Civil Differences be referred to a Parliament spee-'dily to be called. 3. That no party that were in the 'last engagements against England be of the New Par-'liament or of the General Assembly; And so Cromwel

returns

returns into England. after he had been Treated at Edenburgh, and highly careſſed by the States of Scotland, and in Yorkſhire he reduced Scarborough and Pomfret Caſtles.

Colcheſter had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to ſuch ſcarcity, that they had not Horſe fleſh enough to ſerve one day: on which they had fed a fortnight, and had purchaſed with much blood in divers Sallies dead Horſes; but perceiving no hopes of ſuccor, were neceſſitated to yield upon *C*onditions that the *C*ommon Souldiers depart with *L*ife, and the Officers to remain at the Generals diſpoſal, he to exempt from mercy whom he pleaſed, the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments mercy, and the Town to raiſe 1400 pound to preſerve it from plunder; the Priſoners of Quality were the Lords Goring, *C*apel and Loughborough, 11 Knights, 12 *C*olonels, 8 Lieutenant *C*olonels 9 Majors 30 *C*aptains and 65 Gentlemen, the common Priſoners were about 3000; 3 were condemned by a *C*ouncil of War. Sir *C*. Lucas, Sir G Liſle, and Sir Bernard Gaſcoyn a Papiſt, the laſt was reprieved, and the other two were ſhot to Death, the firſt having (as Fairf. ſaid in his Letter to the *P*ar.) contrary to his promiſe not kept his word with him, the ſecond to have directed ſhooting of Poyſoned Bullets contrary to the Law of *A*rms; and ſo Fairf. after much loſs of time and men, for a Quarter of a year took poſſeſſion of *C*olcheſter, Auguſt 27. 1648. And then marches into Suffolk, Norfolk, *C*ambridge and *H*ertfordſhires to ſettle *P*eace and viſit the Garriſons, and thence returns to Saint Albans his *H*ead Quarters.

Whilſt the Army was fighting, the Par. received Petitions from ſeveral *C*ounties for a *T*reaty with the King, one from London, withal deſiring a releaſe of their Aldermen, Gayer, Langham, Bunch, and Serjeant Glyn, which the Houſe agreed to, and likewiſe repealed their Orders againſt the 7 Lords, and the 11 Impeached Memb. And the E. of Middleſex, Sir J. *H*ipſley, and Mr. Bunkley were ſent to the *K*, to let him know the

Parliaments

Parliaments Intentions; who returned with his desires; upon which the Parliament voted, That the Votes of Non Addresses should be recalled; That such Persons as the K. should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty be admitted; That he be in the same state of Freedom as at Hampton Court with such Servants as he desires, that 5 Lords and 10 Commoners be chosen Commissioners to treat with the K. and the place to be Newport in the isle of Wight, and that the K. be admitted to invite the Scots thereinto, but to Treat only concerning that Kingdom. These Votes were sent to the K. who was to treat Personally with the Commissioners.

Sep. 8. 1648. The Treaty began, the Propositions were 11. 1. For calling in all Declarations, To settle the Directory, confirm the Assembly, and establish Presby Govern. for 3 years, reserving Liberty to himself, and his Party to use the old Form, but not to abolish Episcopacy, nor sell their Lands, For setling the Militia in the hands of the Parl. for 20 years solely, and for making void the Cessation in Ireland, and permitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the 2 Houses at West. nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away the Great Seal, and for Payment of Publick Debts. Concerning Delinquents, (to whom the Parliament intended Great severity) the King was contented, they should be fined and prohibited Access to Council or Court without the Parliaments consent; That they be deprived for three years of their Right in sitting in Parl. and brought to Tryal, if the 2 Houses think fit, and suffer according to their merit if Legally convicted; but he would not hear of branding them with Treason, or taking away their Lives or Possessions, but of such only as shall be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land. The Parl. to confer all Offices of the King for 20 years; For confirming the New Great Seal with all Grants and Commissions setled by it, For confirming all Priviledges, Grants, Charters, and Immunities; with Power to the City of Lond. to dispose of their Militia, and the Tower, and

all

all Citizens to be exempted from Military Service, out of the Liberties, unleſs at the appointment of Parliament.

All theſe Propoſitions were conſented to, and 10000 pound a year was to be paid the K. for the Court of Wards. The Mar. of Ormond had got back into Ireland, and raiſed Forces there againſt the Parl. by the K. Commiſſion, but the *King* aſſured the Commiſſioners, That if the *Treaty* ſhould take effect, the Iriſh affairs ſhould be managed at the diſcretion of the 2 Houſes only; The Par. then Vote, That the King be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety accodirng to the *Laws*; That he have his Revenue as before, except ſuch Forts and Garriſons as were of old allowed maintenance; That an Act of Oblivion and Pardon be paſt.

Moſt men thought now that the K. and Par. would have united, nothing being in difference but *Epiſcopacy*; but all is broke off by the *Armie*; who not thinking themſelves ſecure ſo long as the *King* lived, find other work for the Parliament. *They* firſt ſend up for both their Arrears, amounting to a vaſt Sum, which whilſt the Houſes were debating, they preſent a Petition, That ſcrutiny be taken for diſcovery of the Contrivers and *Actors* in the late Bloody Wars, and that ſpeedy Juſtice be done upon them; That the ſame Fault may have the ſame Puniſhment in the *Perſon* of King or Lord, as of the pooreſt Commoner, That ſuch as ſpeak or act on the K. behalf, till he be acquitted of ſhedding innocent blood, be proceeded againſt as *Traytors*, &c.

When this would not do, the Army at Windſor ſend a Remonſtrance to the Par. requiring, 1. That the *K.* be brought to Juſtice, as the Capital *Cauſe* of all the evils of the Civil War: 2. That a Peremptory day be ſet, for ſummoning the P. of Wales, and D. of York, and if they refuſe to appear, to declare them incapable of Govern. or Succeſſion, and to ſtand exiled as Traytors, and if they render themſelves yet to be proceeded againſt for ſatisfaction: that the *Revenues* of the Crown be ſequeſtred. 3. That publick Juſtice be done upon the

the *Actors* in the last Wars. And lastly they desire their *Arrears*, for easing the Country of Free Quarter; and that a Period may be put to this Par. and good care taken to elect a new Representative; In the mean time G. Fairfax commands C. Hammond to deliver up the K. to C. Ewer, by whom he is conveyed out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle. Nov. 30. 1648. The Par. Voted; That the seizing upon the Person of the K. and the carrying him Prisoner to Hurst Castle, was without the Advice or Consent of the 2 Houses. And thus the Treaty was violently broken off; yet the H. of Lords vote, That the K's Concessions are a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourn; and the Major part of the Com. do the same; but the Army being now come to Lond. resolve to hinder these Proceedings, discharge the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Par. and order Col. *Prides* and Riches Regiments to supply their Places, by whom above 40 Mem. of the Com. coming to the House, were seized and sent to an eating House called Hell.

Then the Army accused M. G. *Brown*, and above 90 Mem. for inviting in the Scots the last Summer, and desired they might be excluded the House, *At* which the Com. being angry, adjourn Dec. 8. 4 or 5 days. in which space the *Army* is busied in divising a New way of Govern. and their Committee at Whitehall move, that this Parliament be dissolved the last of April, and that the Representatives of the whole Nation shall consist of 300 Persons, half of which number shall suffice to make an Act a Law, and that in the intervals of Par. a Coun. of State shall govern; And this Declaration, with about ten other Modifications, they stile, The Agreement of the People; which was after presented to the H. of Com. by Sir H. Waller and 16 Officers, The House new modelled by excluding such a number of Mem. meet again, annul the Votes which approved of the K. Concessions, and Vote That no Message be received from the K. upon pain of Treason; That Fair. take care of the K. and that the Council of War draw up a charge

charge againſt him; ſo that reſolving upon his Tryal orders are iſſued out for his removal, from Hurſt Caſtle with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe to Wincheſter, afterward to Windſor. In the mean time the 2 Houſes differ; the Com. aſſert, That it is Treaſon for the *K.* to levy War againſt the Common wealth, and the Lords deny That the K. can commit Treaſon againſt the Common wealth and reject the Ordinance for his Tryal, declaring, that no *Act* of the Com. is binding without their conſent; upon which the *Com.* Vote, That all Members and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance. are impowered to ſit, and act, , tho' the H. of Peers joyned not with them. And ſo earneſt were both the *Commons* and Army about it, that the Q. deſiring to ſee her Husband before his Tryal, could not get a paſs for her ſecure coming and going. Jan. 4. the *Commons* being turned into a G. *Committee* paſs the following Votes, 1. That the *People* under God are the Original of all juſt power. 2. That the *Commons* of England aſſembled in Parlia. being choſen by, and repreſenting the People, have the Supream Power of this Nation. 3. That whatſoever is enacted and declared for *Law* by the *Com.* of England Aſſembled in *Parliament* hath the force of a Law. 4. That all the People of this Nation are included thereby, although the conſent and concurrence of the H. of Peers be not had thereto. 5. That to raiſe Arms againſt the Peoples Repreſentative or Parliament, and to make War upon them is High Treaſon. 6. That the King himſelf took Arms againſt the Parliament, and upon that account is guilty of the bloodſhed throughout the *Civil* War, and that he ought to expiate the *Crime* with his own blood. After this they make an *Act* for Tryal of the King, and notwithſtanding the H. of Lords and the Remonſtrance of the Scots Parl. were againſt it; the *Commons* erect a new illegal Tribunal which they call The High *Court* of Juſtice, who are impowered to convene, hear, Judge and execute, *Charles Stuart* K. of England, and Jan *6.* The Ordinance for the King's Tryal was ingroſſed, which they intituled, *An Act* of

the

the Commons of England assembled in Parliament for erecting an High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart K. of England which was in the Form following.

WHereas it is notorious, That Charles Stuart the now King of England, not content with the many incroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedoms hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberty of this Nation; and in their place to introduce an *Arbitrary* and Tyrannical Government, with fire and Sword levyed and maintained a cruel War in the Land, against the Parliament and Kingdom; whereby the Country had been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decayed, and thousands of People murthered, and infinite of other mischiefs committed; For all which High and Treasonable Offences, the said Charles Stuart might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment; Whereas also the Parliament, well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands would have quieted the disturbers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him; But found by sad experience, that such their remissiness served only to encourage him and his Complices, in the continuance of their evil *Practices*, and in ising of new Commotions, Designs, and Invasions; For prevention therefore of the like greater inconveniencies, and to the end, that no Magistrate or Officer whatsoever, may hereafter presume traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the enslaving, or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity in so doing.

Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Commons in Parliament assembled, and it is hereby ordained and enacted by the Authority thereof; That Thomas *Lord F.* O *C.* &c. shall be, and hereby are appointed Commissioners

missioners and Judges for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said Charles Stuart and the said Commissioners or any Twenty or more of them, shall be, and are hereby Authorized and Constituted an High Court of Justice, to meet at such convenient times and places, as by the said Commissioners, or the major part or twenty, or more of them, under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall or Palace yard of Westminster; and adjourn from time to time, and from Place to place, as the said High Court, or the major part thereof meeting shall hold fit, and to take Order for charging of him the said Charles Stuart with the Crimes above mentioned, and for the receiving his Personal Answer thereunto, and for Examination of Witnesses upon Oath (if need be) concerning the same; and thereupon, or in default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause, and to be executed speedily and Impartially, &c.

After this Proclamation was made, That those who had any thing to say against the King, should have a hearing. This was proclaimed in Westminster Hall, by the Serjeant at Arms, Riding into the Hall with his Mace, six Trumpeters and other Officers, bare into the Hall with him, the Drums of the Guard beating without in the Pallace yard. Next day Proclamation was made to the same effect in Cheapside, and at the Old Exchange: And Hillary Term was adjourned for fourteen days; The H. of Lords refusing to concur to the Ordinance for the Kings Tryal, the Commons resolve and Vote, That all Members and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are impowered and enjoyned to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers joyn not with them.

The Presbiterians declare themselves in their Pulpits, and by earnest Petitions to the Parliaments abhorrers of the Kings death, and publickly protest against this Tryal; The Nobility likewise offer themselves Pledges on the Kings behalf; yet the House of Commons and the

Army

Army went on, and an High Court of Juſtice was erected, the Commiſſioners whereof met in the Painted Chamber to conſult what courſe to take about the Tryal of the King.

The Tryal of King Charles I. before the High Court of Juſtice.

FRyday Jan. 19. 1648. the King was brought with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe from Windſor to St. James's and the next day Sergeant Bradſhaw Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice with about ſeventy of the Members of the ſaid Court, Col. Fox and ſixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, a Sword born by Col. Humphrey, a Mace by Serj. Dandy, with other Officers of the Court marching before them, came to the place prepared for them at the Weſt end of the Great Hall in Weſtminſter; where the L. Preſident in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, in the midſt of the Court placed himſelf, having a Deſk with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him; The reſt ſate on each ſide upon Benches hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe, the Partizans divide themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them. The Court thus ſet, and

ſilence]

silence made, the great Gate of the Hall was set open that all Persons might come in, upon which the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered. Then Col. Thomlinson who had the charge of the King, brought him into the Court with 20 Officers marching before him; Col. Hacker and other Gentlemen marching in his Rear. Being brought within the face of the Court the Serj. at Arms with his Mace conducts him to the Bar, where a Crimson Velvet Chair was set for the K. After a stern look on the Court and the People in the Galleries on each side, he places himself, not moving his Hat, or shewing the least respect to the Court, but presently rises, and turns about looking on the Guards placed on the left, and the multitude of Spectators. Then the Act of Parliament for Trying *Charles* Stuart K. of England, was read by Broughton Clerk of the Court, who sate on one side; the Table was covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the President, on which was laid the Sword and Mace. After reading the Act, the Names of the Commissioners were all called over, every one present, rising up, and answering to his call. The *K.* having again placed himself in his Chair, with his face toward the Court. Silence was ordered, the and L. President said:

P. *Charles* Stuart *K.* of England. The Com. of Eng. assembled in Parliament, being sensible of the Calamities brought upon this Nation (which is fixed upon you, as the Principal Author) have resolved to make inquisition for Blood, and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom and themselves, Have resolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgement; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

Mr. Cook Sollicitor General for the Common wealth (standing within a Bar on the right hand of the K.) offered to speak; but the K. held up his Staff, and laid it upon Cooks shoulder 2 or 3 times, bidding him hold; But the Lord President ordering him to go on; he said,

My L. I am commanded to charge *Charles* Stuart K. of

of England, in the name of the Commons of Eng. with Treason and high Misdemeanours; I desire the said Charge may be read. The Charge being delivered to Clerk of the Court, the L. President ordered it should be read, but the King bid him hold; yet being commanded by the Lord President, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of England *against* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.*

THat the said Charles Stuart being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited Power to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land and not otherwise; And by his Trust, Oath, and Office being obliged to use the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties; Nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect, and uphold in himself an unlimited and Tyrranical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parl. or National meetings in Councel; He, the said C. Stuart for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the same end hath Traiterously and Maliciously levied War against the present Parliament and the People therein represented. Particularly June the 30. 1642. at Beverly in Yorkshire. August 24. at Nottingham (where he set up his Standard of War.) October 24. at Edgehill and Keinton in Warwickshire. Nov. 30 at Brainford in Middlesex. August 30. 1643.

at Caveſham Bridge near Reading in Berkſhire. October 30. at Gloceſter. Nov. 30. at Newberry in Berkſhire. July 31. 1644. at Cropredry Bridge in Oxfordſhire. Sept. 30. at Bodmin and other places in Cornwall. Nov. 30. again at Newberry. June 8. 1645. at Leiceſter. And June 14. at Naſeby in Northamptonſhire. At which ſeveral times and *Places*, and many other places in this Land, within the years aforementioned: And in 1646. He the ſaid C. Stuart hath cauſed and procured many thouſands of Free People of the Nation to be ſlain; and by Diviſions, parties, and inſurrections, within this *Land*, & by Invaſions from Forreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means; He the ſaid C. Stuart hath not only maintained and carried on the ſaid War, both by Land and Sea, during the years before mentioned but alſo hath renewed or cauſed to be renewed, the ſaid War againſt the Parliament and good people of this Nation, in this year, 1648. in the Counties of Kent, Eſſex, Surry, Suſſex, Middleſex and many other places in Engl. and Wales, and by *Sea*: and particularly, He the ſaid *C. Stuart* hath for that purpoſe, given Commiſſion to his Son the Pr. and others; whereby, beſides ſome, as were by the Parliament intruſted and employed for the ſafety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents Corrupted to the betraying their Truſt, and revolting from the Parl. had entertainment and Commiſſion, for continuing and renewing War and Hoſtility againſt the ſaid Parl. and People.

By which cruel and unnatural Wars by him the ſaid C. Stuart, levied, and renewed, much Innocent Blood of the Free People of this Nation hath been ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed, vaſt expence, and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land ſpoiled, ſome to Deſolation. And for further proſecution of his evil Deſign the ſaid C. *Stuart*, doth ſtill continue his *Commiſſion* to the ſaid *Prince* and other Rebels and Revolters, both

Engliſh

Engliſh and Forreignors, and to the E. of Ormond, and to the Iriſh Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with him; from whom further Invaſions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the ſaid *C.* Stuart. All which wicked deſigns of him the ſaid C. Stuart, have been, and are carried on, for advancing and upholding the perſonal Intereſt of Will and Power, and pretended prerogative to himſelf and his Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom he was intruſted. By all which it appeareth, that that the ſaid C. Stuart hath been the; Occaſioner, &c. of the ſaid Unnatural and Bloody Wars, and thereiu guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, &c. to this Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Wars.

And the ſaid John Cook, by Proteſtation (ſaving on the behalf of the People of Eng. the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge againſt the ſaid C. Stuart, and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the ſaid C. Stuart ſhall make to the *Premiſes*, or any of them, or any other *Charge* that ſhall be ſo exhibited) doth for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of England, Impeach *C.* Stuart as a Tyrant, Murtherer, &c. a publick and implacable Enemy to the *Commonwealth* of Eng. And prays that C. Stuart, K. of may anſwer *All*, and every the Premiſes; That ſuch proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgement may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.

It was obſerved, That while the Charge was reading, the K. ſate in his Chair looking, ſometimes on the Court, ſometimes on the Galleries, & having riſen again, & turned about to behold the Guard and Spectators, ſate down, looking very ſternly, with a countenance not at all moved, till theſe words, viz. Charles Stuart to be a Tyrant and Traitor, &c. were read, at which he laughed as he ſate in the face of the Court.

The Charge being read, the L. Preſident ſaid, Sir, you have heard your Charge read containing ſuch matters as appear in it; you find that in the cloſe of it, it

is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of Eng. that you answer to your Charge. The Court expects your Answer. *King.* I would know by what Power I am called hither? I was not long ago, in the Isle of Wight, how I came there is a longer story than I think fit at this time to speak of; but there I entred into a Treaty with both H. of Parl. with as much publick Faith as 'tis possible to be had of any People in the world. I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean, lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the world; as of Thieves & Robbers by the high ways; but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer; Remember I am your King, and what sins you bring upon your heads and the Judgement of God upon this Land; think well upon it I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what Authority I am seated here, and I shall be willing to answer; in the mean time I shall not betray my truft I have a Truft committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descent, I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful Authority, therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me. *Pr.* If you had observed, what was hinted to you by the Court, at your firft coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority, requires you in the name of the People of Engl. of which you are elected K. to answer them. *K.* No Sir, I deny that.

Pr. If yon acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed. *K.* I do tell you so, Eng. was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary one for these 1000 years, therefore tell me by what Authority I am called hither; I do stand more for the liberty of my people than any here that come to be my pretended

teuded Judges; therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it. *Pr.* Sir, how really you have managed your Trust, is known: your way of answer is to interrogate the Court which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

K. Here is a Gentleman, Lieu. Col. Cobbet, ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force? I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the Priviledge of the H. of Commons rightly understood, as any man here what ever. I see no H. of Lords here that may constitute a Par. and the K. too) should have been. Is this the bringing the K. to his Par. Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty on the publick Faith of the world? Let me see a legal Authority warranted by the word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

Pr. Sir, you have propounded a Question, and have been answered: seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed, in the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again. The Court desires to know whether this be all the answer you will give or no. *K.* Sir I desire you would give me, and all the world satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the last breath of my body, therefore you shall do well to satisfie first God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by a usurped Authority, that will not last long. There is God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account: Satisfie me in that, and I will answer, otherwise I betray my trust, and the liberties of the People; and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing. For I do avow, that it is as great a sin to withstand lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful Authority; and therefore satisfie God and me, and all the world in that

and you shall receive my Answer; I am not afraid of the Charge.

Pr. The Court expects you should give a final answer there purpose is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not satisfie your self, tho' we do tell you our Authority we are satisfied with our Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that peaceyou speak of will be kept in the doing of Justice, and that's our present work. *K.* Let me tell you, if you will shew me what lawful Authority you have, I shall be satisfied: But that you have hitherto said, satisfies no reasonable man. *Pr.* That's in your apprehension; we think it reasonable that are your Judges. *K.* 'Tis not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Pr. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded. Then the Court adjourned till Monday, Jan. 22.

Two things were remarkable in this days proceedings:

1. Its observed, That as the Charge was reading against the King, the Silver head of his Staff fell off, which he wondred at, and seeing none take it up, he stooped for it himself, and put it in his Pocket. 2. That as the *K.* was going away, he looking with an austere countenance on the Court, without stirring his Hat replied, Well Sir' (When the L. Pre. commanded the Guard to take him away at his going, he said, I do not fear that, pointing with his staff at the Sword. Some People in the Hall, as he went down stairs cryed out, God save the King and some for Justice.

January 21. being Sunday, the Commissioners kept a Fast at White Hall, there preached Mr. Sprigge, his Text was, He that sheds Mans blood, by Man shall his blood be shed; next Mr. Foxely, his Text was, Judge not lest you be judged. Last, was Mr Peters, his Text, I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, *Monday Jan.* 22. 1648.

The Court was called, and answered to their Names. Upon the Kings coming in a shout was made. Command given

given by the Court to the Cap. of the Guard, to take into custody those who make disturbance.

Mr. *Sollicitor.* May it please your Lordship, my Lord President I did in the behalf of the Com. of Eng. exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of H. Treason, and other Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of England, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required, My L. he was not then pleased to give an Answer but instead of answering, did dispute the Authority of the Court. My humble Motion to this H. Court in behalf of the People of Engl. is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, the matter of the Charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

Pr. Sir, You may remember at the last Court, you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge against you containing a Charge of H. Treason and other Crimes against the Realm of Eng. you heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an answer to that Charge, that thereupon such proceeding might be had, as should be agreeable to Justice; you were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound Questions, and were as often answered, that it was by Authority of the Com. of Eng. Assembled in Par. that did think fit to call you to account for those Capital misdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that the Court had taken into Consideration what you then said, and being fully satisfied with their Authority they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require that you do give a positive and particular answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you, they do expect you should either confess or deny; if you deny, it is offered in behalf of the Nation to be made good against you, their Authority they do avow

to the whole world, &that the *Kingdom* is to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it, therefore you are to loſe no time but to give a poſitive anſwer.

K. When I was here laſt, 'tis true I made that Queſtion, and truly if it were my only particular caſe I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation I made the laſt time I was here, againſt the legality of this Court, and that a K. cannot be tried by any Superiour Juriſdiction on Earth; but it is not my caſe alone, it is the *Freedom* and the Liberty of the People of Eng. Do you pretend what you will I ſtand more for their Liberties, If Power without Law, may make Laws, or alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I know not what Subject in England can be ſure of his Life or any thing he calls his own; therefore when I came here, I did expect particular Reaſons to know by what Law, what *Authority* you did proceed againſt me, and therefore I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this particular, becauſe when the affirmative is proved, the Negative often is very hard to do: but ſince I cannot perſuade you to do it, I ſhall tell you Reaſons as ſhort as I can. My Reaſons why in Conſcience, and the duty I owe to God firſt, and my People next, for the preſervation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; I conceive I cannot anſwer this. till I be ſatisfied of the legality of it. *All* proceedings againſt any man whatſoever.

Pr. Sir I muſt interrupt you, which I would not, but what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Juſtice; you are about to enter into *Argument* and diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as a Delinquent; if you take upon you to diſpute the *Authority* of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to ſubmit to it, you are to give in a punctual and direct anſwer, whether you will anſwer to your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

K. Sir, by your favour tho', I know not the Forms of Law. *I* know Law and Reaſon, tho' I am no Lawyer, yet I

know as much Law as any Gentleman in Eng. therefore I plead for the Liberties of the People of Eng. more than you do, therefore if I ſhould impoſe a belief on any man without Reaſons, it were unreaſonable; but I tell you by that Reaſon that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield to it.

Pr. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon; it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, the Vote of the Com. of Eng. aſſembled in Par. is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are thoſe too that have given that Law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and reigned. Sir you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly. *K.* I know not how a K. can be a Delinquent not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you they may put in Demurs againſt any proceedings as Legal, and I demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reaſons; if you deny that, you deny Reaſon. *Pr.* Sir, you have offered ſomething to the Court, I ſhall ſpeak ſomething to you of the ſenſe of the Court; Sir, neither you nor any man of are permitted to diſpute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court; if you do I muſt let you know, that they over rule your Demurrer they ſit here by the Authority of the Com. of Eng. and all your Predeceſſors, and you are reſponſible to them. *K.* I deny that, ſhew me one Preſident.——

Pr. Sir you ought not to interrupt, while the Court is ſpeaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, nor will the Court let you do it; if you offer it by way of demurr to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſidered their Juriſdiction, they affirm their own Juriſdiction. *K.* I ſay Sir, by your favour, the Com. of Eng. was never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be ſo. *Pr.* Sir you are not to be permit-

ted to go on in that ſpeech, and theſe diſcourſes. Then the Clerk of the Court read as follows.

Charles Stuart, *King of Eng. You been accuſed on the behalf of the People of Eng. of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, the Court have determined, that you ought to anſwer the ſame:*

K. I will as ſoon as I know by what Authority you do this. *Pr.* If this be all that you will ſay, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take him back again. *K.* I require that I may give in my Reaſons why I did not anſwer, and give me time for that.

Pr. Sir, 'Tis not for Priſoners to require. *K.* Priſoners! Sir, I am no ordinary Priſoner.

Pr. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction; if you anſwer not, we ſhall give order to Record your default *K.* You never heard my Reaſons yet. *Pr.* Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction, *K.* Shew me that Juriſdiction, where Reaſon is not to be heard. *Pr.* Sir, We ſhew it you here, the Com. of Eng. The next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court, and it may be their final determination. *K.* Shew me wherever the H. of Com. was a Court of Judicature of that kind. *Pr.* Serjeant take away the Priſoner. *K.* Well Sir Remember that the K. is not ſuffered to give his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of his Subjects.

Pr. Sir, You are not to uſe this Language; how great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all Eng. and the World judge. *K.* Sir under favour, it was for the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that I defended my ſelf with Arms; I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for my People and the Laws.

Pr. The command of the Court muſt be obeyed; no Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

King. Well Sir.

Then

Then the Lord President ordered the default to be recorded, and the contempt of the Court, and that no answer will be given to the Charge. And so he he was guarded to Sir Robert Cotton's house.

THE Reasons the K. intended to have delivered in writing this day against the Jurisdiction of the Court but was not permitted were to this effect. That no earthly Power could justly call him who was their K. in Question as a Delinquent. That no Freeborn Subject could call Life or Estate his own, if Power without Right dayly made new, and abrogated old fundamental Laws; That he expected they would answer his Reasons, which hindred him from answering their pretended Impeachment. That they could not reasonably judge him, no, nor the meaneſt man in Eng. by any Law warranted by God or the Country. That the H Scripture strictly enjoyned obedience to Kings; and that by the Laws of the Land no Impeachment could lye against the King, they all running in his name, and it is a Law Maxim, That the K. can do no wrong. That the H. of Com. could not erect a Court of Judicature, who were never one themselves, nor could justly pretend to make Laws without K. and H. of L. & supposing the People of Eng. could invest them with such a Power, yet this ought to be done by the Majority, whereas they never askt the question of the tenth man in Eng. They had notoriously violated the Publick Faith, and the Priviledges of both Houses, by surprizing and hurrying him into Prison, just upon the conclusion of a Treaty. That the H. of L. and the greateſt part of the H. of Com. were against their proceedings, which was a sufficient cause for him to protest against the unlawfulness of their Pretended Court. That their was no hope of settlement when only Power reigned without Rule or Law; changing the whole constitution under which the Kingdom flourished many hundred years both under Q. Elixabeth, the K. his Father and himself till these unhappy troubles. That he took up Arms to defend the Fundamental Laws against those who supposed his Power had totally altered the ancient Government. That for these Reasons he cannot submit to their pretended Authority; without violating the Truth God had given him for the welfare and liberty of the People, and expected they would either convince him by clear Reason or else withdraw their proceedings against him.

Resolutions of the Court at their meeting in the Painted Chamber, Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

This day the *K.* withdrew from the Bar of the H. C. of Justice, & the Commissioners of the said H. Court sate private

private in the Painted Chamber, and considered of the K's carriage upon the Saturday before, and of all that had passed, and fully approved of what the L *Pr.* had done and said in managing that days business, as agreeing to their sense. And perceiving the *K*'s aim, was to bring in question the Jurisdiction of the Court, and its Authority, whereby they sate; and considering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them to be a Court or his Judges: and thro' their sides intended to wound (if permitted) the Supream Authority of the Com. of Eng. in their Representatives, the Com. assembled in Parl. after advice with their Council. learned in both Laws and mature deliberation had of the matter. *Resolved.*

That the K. be not suffered to argue the Courts Jurisdiction, or that which constituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Conusance, nor could they, being derivative Judges from which there was no Appeal, and did therefore order and direct, viz. That in case the K. shall again offer to dispute the Authority of the Court, the L *Pr.* do let him know, that the Court have taken into consideration his demands of the last day, and that he ought to rest satisfied with this answer, That the Com. of Eng. assembled in Par. constituted this Court, whose power may not be permitted to be disputed by him. That incase the K. shall refuse to answer or acknowledge the Court, the L. Pr. do let him know that the Court will take it as a Contumacy; and that it shall be so recorded.

That in case he shall offer or answer with a saving, notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogatives above the Jurisdiction of the Court, That the *L.* Pr. do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive answer, whether he will own the Court or not. That in case the K. shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to answer, and that declaring his intention, a Copy be granted unto him. That in case the K. should still persist in his contempt, the L. Pr. do give command to the Clerk to demand of the

the King in the name of the Court, in theſe following words, viz.

Charles Stuart K. of Eng. you are accuſed in the behalf of the People of Eng. of divers high *Crimes* and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a poſitive anſwer, to confeſs or deny the *Charge*, having determined that you ought to anſwer the ſame,

At the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, *Tueſday Jan.* 23. 1648.

The Court called, Seventy three Perſons preſent.

The K. comes in with his Guard, looks with an auſtere countenance upon the Court, and ſits down.

Mr. Cook Solicitor General

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip my L. Pr. This is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of this H. Court, the Priſoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any iſſue joyned in the Cauſe. My L. I did at the firſt Court exhibit a Charge againſt him, containing the higheſt Treaſon that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of Eng. that a K. of Eng. truſted to keep the Law, who had taken an Oath ſo to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked deſign to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws and introduce Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, & in defiance of the Par. and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for War againſt his Par. and *People*; I did humbly Pray, in the behalf of the People of Eng. that he might ſpeedily be required to make anſwer to his Charge.

But, my *L.* inſtead of anſwering, he diſputed the *Authority* of this C. yet your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his anſwer the day was yeſterday, I humbly moved he might be required to give a poſitive anſwer, by denying or confeſſion of it; but he was then pleaſed to demurr to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-

rule

rule and command him to give a direct and positive answer. My Lord, besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgement against him. My L. I might press your Lordship upon the whole, according to the known Rules of the *Law* of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt and shall not put in an issuable plea, Guilty or not of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair *Tryal*; that as by an implicite confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done; but besides, my L. I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact: *The* H. of Com. the Supream Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared that it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my *L.*) as clear as Chrystal, and as the Sun that shines at noon day; which if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the People of Eng. behalf, several Witnesses to produce; therefore *I* do humbly pray, and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the Innocent Blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgement, therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy Judgement be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Pr. Sir, you have heard what was moved by the Council, on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, if you do not. the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hand; you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, the Court did affirm their Jurisdiction; That it was not for you nor any other, to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supream and Highest Authority of Eng. from which their is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, & you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority

rity in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, That they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the Supream Court of Eng. to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Justice, if they pleased and according to the rules of Justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgement against you. nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, Sir in plain terms; for Justice knows no respect of Persons; you are to give your positive and final *Answer* in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

The *K.* after a little pause said, When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the people of Eng. I was interrupted, *I* desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

Pr. Sir you have had the resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told that having such a Charge of so high a nature against you, your work was that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge. Sir, If you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt, yet if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter that is charged upon you.

K. For the Charge I value it not a Rush, it is the Liberty of the People of Eng. that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new Court, that I never heard of before, I that am your K, that should be an example to all the

people

people of Eng. to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintainance of the Liberties of my People; The same obligation you speak of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my people, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore, until I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your favour *I* can put in no particular Answer; if you will give me time, I will then shew you my Reasons why I cannot do it, and this——————Here being interrupted, he said, By your favour you ought not to interrupt me; how *I* came here, *I* know not, there's no Law for it, to make your K. your Prisoner: *I* was lately in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known ——— the H's of Par. that was the Representatives of the Kingdom, and when I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither; and therefore———Here the President interrupted him and said, Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

K. By your favour Sir.——————*Pr.* Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into these discourses: you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court: the Court craves it of you, and once more they command you to give your positive answer——————Clerk, do your Duty, *K.* Duty Sir! The Clerk reads.

Charles Stuart, K. of Eng. you are accused in the behalf of the Com. of Eng. of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which charge hath been read unto you; the Court requires your final and positive answer, by way of confession or denial.

K. Sir, *I* say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the people of Eng. of the clearness of my proceedings, not by way of answer, nor in this way, but to satisfie them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath

hath been committed to me, *I* would do it; but to acknowledge a New Court againſt their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; Sir you muſt excuſe me.

Pr. This is the third time that you have publickly diſowned the Court, and put an affrout upon it; how far you have preſerved the Priviledges of the People, your actions have ſpoke it, but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but Sir you underſtand the pleaſure of the Court; ——— ——— ———Clerk record the default———and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Priſoner take him back again. *K. I* will only ſay this one word to you, if it were only my particular, *I* would not ſay any more, or interrupt you.

Pr. Sir you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice. Then the K. went forth with his Guard, and the Court Adjourn'd till Ten next morning. Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of England.

Saturday, January 27. 1648.

Serjeant Bradſhaw L. Pr. in his Scarlet Robe with 68 Memb. of the Court called, *As* the K. came into the C. with his Hat on, a Cry was made in the Hall by ſome of the Souldiers, for Juſtice, Juſtice, and Execution.

K. I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and *I* hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption. *Pr*, You may anſwer in your time hear the Court firſt. *K. If* it pleaſe you Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I ſhall not give any occaſion of interruption, and its only in a word; a ſudden judgement———*Pr.* You ſhall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the Court firſt. *K.* Sir, *I* deſire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will ſay; Sir a haſtie judgement is not ſo ſoon recalled. *Pr.* Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgement be given; and in the mean time you may forbear.

King.

K. Well Sir, shall *I* be heard before the Judgement be given? *Pr.* Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before the Court to make answer to a Charge of Treason and and other Crimes exhibited against him in the Name of the People of Eng. to which charge being required to Answer, he hath been so far from obeying the commands of the Court by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the Authority of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to try and Judge him: but being over-ruled in that and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer; Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves to the trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness may prevent Justice, have thought fit to take the matter into consideration and have considered of the Contumacy; and of that confession which in Law doth arise on that contumacy; They have likewise considered of the notoriety of the *Fact* charged upon the Prisoner, & upon the whole matter they are resolved, and have agreed on a Sentence to be pronounced against the Prisoner; But in respect he desires to be heard before Sentence be passed, the Court hath resolved to hear him; yet Sir, thus much I must tell you before hand, which you have been minded of, at other Courts; that if that you have to say be to offer any debate concerning Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the Root, i. e. the Power and Supream Authority of the Com. of Eng. which this Court will not admit a debate of, which indeed is an irronical thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them that they should presume to judge of their Superiority, from whom there is no appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King.

K. Since *I* see you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confess I thought the most material for the peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject, I shall speak nothing to it; but *I* must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that, that I call more dear to me than my Life. i. e. My Conscience and my Honour; if I had respect to my Life more than the peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my self, for by it at least-wise I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pason me; therefore certainly, as man hath some knowledge of the world, if my zeal to my country had not overborn the care that I have of my own preservation *I* should have gone another way to work than I have: Now, Sir I conceive that an hasty Sentence once past: may be sooner repented than recalled: And truly the self same desire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom and the Liberty of the Subject more than my own particular, makes me desire at last, that having something to say before Sentence be given, that concerns both, I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the L. & Com. this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; if that I say be no Reason those that hear must be Judges, *I* cannot be a Judge of that; If it be reason and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject, *I* am sure it is worth hearing; Therefore *I* do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, (*I* hope its real.) the Liberty of the Subject, and the Peace of the Kingdom and that you will grant me the hearing before Sentence be passed; *I* desire that you will take this into consideration, it may be you have not heard of it before; if you will, *I'le* retire, and you may think of it; but *I* cannot get Liberty, *I* do protest that so fair shews of Liberty Peace are pure shews and not otherwise in that you will not hear your King.

Pr. Sir you have now spoken? *K.* Yes Sir. *Pr:* And this that you have said is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you

were

were limited before. *K.* Pray excuſe me, Sir for my interruption, becauſe you miſtake me; It is not a declining of it, you judge me before you hear me ſpeak; I ſay, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court; yet Sir, in this give me leave to ſay, though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do proteſt it is not the declining of it, ſince if I ſay any thing but that that is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the ſhame is mine. Now I deſire, that you will take this into your conſideration, if you will, I'le withdraw. *Pr.* Sir, this that you have moved is not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in perſon you offered it the Court: Sir you ſay you decline not the Juriſdiction of the Court. *K.* Not in this that I have ſaid.

Pr. I underſtand you well, Sir, yet that which you have offered, ſeems to be contrary to that ſaying of yours; for the Court are ready to give Sentence: It is not as you ſay, That they will not hear their King, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleaſure for three Courts together, to hear what you would ſay to the peoples charge againſt you, to which you have not vouchſafed to give any anſwer at all; Sir this tends to a further delay; Truly, Sir, ſuch delays as theſe neither the Kingdom nor Juſtice will bear You had three ſeveral days to have offered in this kind what you pleaſed, This Court is founded upon that Authority of the Commons of Eng. in whom reſts the Supream Juriſdiction; That which you now tender, is to have another Juriſdiction. I know very well you expreſs your ſelf, Sir, That notwithſtanding what you would offer to the L. and Com. in the painted Chamber, yet you would proceed on here, but Sir, that you would offer there, what ever it is, muſt needs be in delay of the Juſtice here; ſo as if this Court be reſolved, and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in Juſtice to grant; but Sir, according to that you ſeem to deſire, and becauſe you ſhall know the further

ther pleaſure of the Court upon that which you have mo ved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

K. Shall I withdraw? *Pr.* Sir, you ſhall know the pleaſure of the Court preſently. The Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Arms, the Court commands the Priſoner be withdrawn, and order his return again.

After which the Court withdraws for half an hour, and returns.

Pr. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your Priſoner. Sir, You were pleaſed to make a motion here to the Court to propound ſomewhat to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, for the Peace of the Kingdom. Sir, you did in effect receive an anſwer before the Court adjourned; Truly Sir their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have conſidered of what you have moved, and of their own Authority which is founded (as hath been often ſaid) upon the Supream Authority of the Com. of Eng. Aſſembled in Par. The Court acts according to their Commiſſion; Sir, the return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, & this that you now offer hath occaſioned ſome little further delay, and they are Judges appointed by the higheſt Judges, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Juſtice. They are good words in the old charter of Eng. *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus Juſtitiam.* There muſt be no delay; but the Truth is Sir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default for which they might have long ſince proceeded to Judgement againſt you, and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Judgement and that is their unanimous Reſolution.

K. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to diſpute, I am no Sceptick to deny the Power that you have, I know you have Power enough, Sir, I confeſs I think it would have been for the Kingd. peace to have ſhown the lawfulneſs

of your Power; for this delay that I have desired, I confess it is a delay, but it is a delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom, for it is not my person that I look on alone, it is the Kingdoms welfare and Peace, it is an old Sentence, That we should think long and not resolve of great matters suddenly; Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I put at your doors all the inconveniency of an hasty Sentence; I confess I have been here now I think this Week, this day Eight days, was the day I came here first, but a little delay of a day or two further may give Peace. whereas an hasty Judgement may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it, and therefore again out of the duty I owe to God and my Country, I desire I may be heard by the Lords and Com. in the Painted Chamber, or any other Chamber you'l appoint. *Pr.* Sir you have been already answered to what you now moved, being the same you moved before and the Resolution and Judgement of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for your self, than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence. *K.* I say this Sir, that if you will hear me if you will give me this delay, *I* doubt not but *I* shall give you some satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that, and therefore *I* do require you, as you will answer it in the dreadful Day of Judgement, that you will consider it once again. *Pr.* Sir *I* have received direction from the Court. *K.* Well Sir, *Pr.* If this must be re-inforced, or any thing of this nature, your answer must be the same, and they will proceed to sentence if you have nothing more to say. *K. I* have nothing more to say, but *I* shall desire that this may be entred, what *I* have said.

Pr. The Court then, Sir, have something to say to you which though *I* know it will be very unacceptable, yet they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their duty. Sir you spake very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectu-

ally

ally and really endeavoured and studied the Peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you seem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, actions must expound intentions, your actions have been clean contrary; and truly Sir it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneus Principles; the Kingdom hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you to think of it, for, Sir you have held your self, and let fall such Language, as if you had been no ways subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your superior. Sir, the Court is very well sensible of it, and *I* hope so are all the understanding people of Eng. That the Law is your Superour: that you ought to have ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done so, Sir: Iknow very well your pretence hath been that you have done so, but Sir, the difference hath been, who shall be the expositors of this Law; Sir, whether you or your your Party out of Courts of Justice, shall take upon them to expound Law, or the Courts of Justice, who are the Expounders; nay, the Soveraign and the H. C. of Justice, the Par. of Eng. who are not only the highest expounders, but the sole makers of the Law. Sir, for you to set your self with your single Judgement, and those that adhere unto you, against the highest Court of Justice, that is not *Law*; Sir as the *Law* is your Superiour, so there is something that is Superiour to the Law, and is indeed the Parent or Author of the *Law*, and that is the People of Eng. For Sir as they are those that at the first, (as other Countries have done) did chuse to themselves this Form of Government, even for Justice sake, that Justice might be administred, that Peace might be preserved; so Sir, they gave Laws to their Governours, according to which they should govern; and if those Laws should have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the Publick, they had a Power in them, and reserved to themselves, to alter as they should see cause. Sir, it is very true, what some of your side have said, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*, This Court will say the same while K. That you have not your Peer in some sence, for you are

Major

Major singulis, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor universis*, and the same Author tells you, that *in exhibitione Juris*, there you have no power, but are *quasi minimus*.

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet superiorem, Deum, & Legem, etiam & Curiam*, so says the same Author; and truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum*, They ought to bridle him; and Sir, we know very well the stories of old; those Wars that were called the Barons Wars, when the Nobility of the Land did stand up for the Liberty and property of the Subject and would not suffer the Kings to invade or play the Tyrants here, but called them to account for it, we know that Truth, That they did *frænum ponere*: But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindful of their own Honour & the Kingdoms good, certainly the Com. of Eng. will not be unmindful of what is for their preservation and for their safety: *Justitiæ fruendi causâ Reges constituti sunt.* This we learn is the end of having Kings or any other Governours, its for the enjoying of Justice, that's the end. Now Sir, if the King will go contrary to the end of his Governmet; Sir, he must understand that he is but an Officer of Trust, and he ought to discharge that Trust, and they are to take order for the ansmadversion, and punishment of such an offending Governour.

This is not Law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your people,) but it is Law of Old; And we know very well the Authors and Authorities that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the election of Kings, upon the Oath they took unto their People, and if they did not observe it, there were those things called Parliaments; The Parliaments were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the Author) the plaints and wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their Children; such wrongs especially, when the People could no where else have any remedy. Sir that hath been the People of Englands case. they could not have their remedy elsewhere

but in *Par.* Sir Parliaments were ordained to redress the grievances of the People, which if the Kings of Eng had been mindful of, they were never more in Majesty and State than in *Par.* but how forgetful some have been Histories tell us: We have a sad experience of it. *Sir* you were please d to say, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law as most Gentlemen of Eng. its very well *Sir.* And its good for the Gentlemen of Eng. to understand that *Law* under which they must live, and be governed. And the *Scripture* says, They that know their Masters Will and do it not, what follows? The Law is your Master, the Acts of *Par.* Parliaments were to be kept anciently, twice in the year, That the Subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy for his Grievances. After by several Acts of Edw. 3. once a year. *Sir*, what intermission of *Par.* hath been in your time, and the sad consequences of it, and what instead of these Par. hath been by an Arbitrary hand introduced upon the People, is too well known but when by Gods Providence you could no longer decline the calling of a Pa. Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were against the ancient and your native Kingd. of Scot. The Par. of Eng. not serving your ends against them, you were pleased to dissolve it. Another great necessity occasioned the calling of this Par. and what your Plots all along have been for confounding this Par. is notorious to the whole Kingd. and Sir, in that you did strike at all; that had been a sure way to have brought about your intentions to subvert the *Fundamental* Laws of the Land for the great Bulwark of the *Liberty* of the People, is the Par. of En. and to subvert that (which you aimed at) was at one blow to confound the Liberties and the *Propriety* of England.

Truly Sir, it makes me call to mind, what we read of a great Roman Emperour, by the way let us call him a great Roman Tyrant Caligula, That wisht that the People of Rome had had but one Neck that at one blow he might cut it off: and your proceedings have been some what like to his, for the body of the People of

England represented in Parliament, and could you but have confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the Neck of England: but God hath reserved better things for us, and hath pleased to confound your Designs. to break your Forces, and to bring your Person to be responsible to Justice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a Question, on your side much proved. By what president we shall proceed? it is no new thing to find presidents almost of all Nations: where the people have called their Ks. to account, and where the change of Goovernment hath ensued by Tyranny and Misgovernment, in France, Spain, &c. and in the Kingdom of Arragon, they have a Man' placed betwixt the K. of Spain and the people, that if any wrong be done by the K. he i. e. K. of Aragon hath power to reform the wrong and is acknowledged to be the Ks superiour and is the grand preserver of their Privilidges, and hath prosecuted Ks. for miscarriages. Sir what the Tribunes of Rome were heretofore, and what the Ephori were to the Lacedemonians, that is the Par. of Eng. to the Eng. State, and tho Rome seemed to have lost its Liberty when once the Emperours rise, yet you shall find some famous Acts of Justice done by the Senate of Rome: the Tyrant Nero was condemned by the Senate. I need not mention Forreign Examples, look but over Tweed in your Nrtive Country Scotl. your first K. Fergus was Elective, he left 2 Sons; the Kingd. made choice of their Uncle to Govern in the Minority & the elder Brother giving small hopes of governing well seeking to supplant his Uncle that governed them justly, they ejected the elder and took the younger and your Stories tell ho many Ks. in that Kingd. according to their po er, they have made bold to Banish, Imprison and put to death as one of your Authors says, would be too long to recite; Say they, We Created Ks. at first, We imposed Laws upon them, and as they are chosen by the people, so upon just occasion they may by the same be dethroned. No Kingd. hath yielded more examples than Scot. hath done of the deposition, of their transgressing Ks. Your Grandmother set a side and your Father an infant cro ned, and here in Eng. the Par. and people of Eng. have made bold to call their Ks. to account, there are frequent examples of it in the Saxons time, and since the conquest there wants no Presidents. K. Ed. 2. K. Rich. 2. were by Par. deposed, and truly Sir whoever looks unto their stories shall not find the Articles charged upon them come near to that capitalness of crimes that are laid to you.

Sir you were pleased to say that they descend, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether: Sir, if you were as the charge speaks and no otherwise admitted K. of Eng. tho you were pleased then to alledge, that almost for a thousand years these things have been, yet if you come down to the conquest you shall find one half of them to come meerly from the

State

State and not upon the point of Descent. And truly Sir what a grave and learned Judge said in this time, and well known to you is since Printed for Posterity: That altho there was such a thing as a Descent many times, yet the K's of Eng. ever held the greatest assurance of their Titles, when it was declared by Parliament: And Sir your Coronation Oath plainly shews, That as to the K. of Eng. though by the Law the next Person in blood is designed, yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the People of Eng. might do it. For there is a contract between the K. and his People, and your Oath is taken, and the Bond is reciprocale; for as you are the Leige Lord, so they are Leige Subjects, and we know the one is the Bond of perfection which is due from the Soveraign the other the Bond of subjection due from the Subject. If this bond be once broken farwel Soveraignty.

These things may not be denied, Sir, I speak that you may be sensible of your miscarriages whether you have been, as your Office required, a Protector of Eng. or its Destroyer, let all Eng. yea all the world judge, though you have it by inheritance, yet it must not be denied that your Office was not an Office of the highest trust lodged in any single person; as you were the grand Administrator of Justice, and others your Delegates thro. your Realms, if your great Office were to do Justice, and preserve your people from wrong, but instead of doing that, you are the great wrong doer your self; instead of a conservator of the Peace, you will be the grand Destroyer thereof, this is contrary to your Office. Now Sir if it be an Office of Inheritance, let all men know that great Offices are as forfeitable as if you had it for a year, or for your life: So Sir, it concerns you to consider the many miscarriages of your Reign they are famously known, it had been happy for the Kingdom, and for you too, they had not been so much known and felt. Sir, we are by command of the highest Court, to try and judge you for your great offences. the charge calls you Tyrant, Traitor, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of Eng. it had been well if any one of these terms might rightly and justly have been spared. *K.* Ha?

Pr. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex est dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if that be the difinition of a Tyrant, then see how you come short of it in your actions: whether that way of Arbitrary Government, that you have sought to introduce was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predecessors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it. Sir, the term Traytor cannot be spared, we shall easily agree it must suppose a Breach of Trust, to a Superiour; and as the people of Eng. might have incurred that respecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of the Law, so when you did break your Truft to the Kdom. you did it to your Superiour. for the K. is that for which you were trusted: And when for this breach of Truft, you are called to

account it is by your Superiors. And Sir, the people of Eng. cannot be so far wanting to themselves. (God having dealt so miraculously for them, and they having power in their hand, and their great enemy) but they must do Justice to themselves and to you; Sir, the Court could heartily desire you would lay your hand upon your heart and consider what you have done amiss; That you would endeavour, to make your peace with God. Sir, these are your high Crimes, Tyranny and Treason. There is a third thing too, that is *Murther*, laid to your charge. All the bloody Murthers committed since the division between you and your people, must be laid to your Charge. Sir it is an heinous and crying sin; and if any man ask what punishment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, Let Mans Law speak. Sir, I presume you are so well read in Scripture, as to know what God himself hath said concerning *the shedding of mans blood. Gen. 9.* Numb. 35. will tell you what the punishment is, and this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are sensible of that innocent blood that has been shed, whereby the land is filled with blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleansed, but with the shedding the blood of him that shedd this blood.* Sir; we know no dispensation in that Commandment, *Thou shalt do no Murther*, but that it extends to K's. as well as to the meaneſt Peasants, the command is universal Sir Gods and Mans Law forbids it, nor is there any exception in Mans Laws: for the punishment of Murther in you. 'Tis true; that in the case of *Ks.* every private hand was not to put forth it self to this work for their Reformation and Punishment, But Sir the People represented having Power in their hands, had their been but one wilful act of murther by you committed, had power to have punished you for it. Now Sir, the Weight that lies upon you by reason of your Tyranny, Treason, Breach of Trust, and the *Murthers* &c, that hath been committed, should drive you into a sadconsideration of your eternal condition: I know you are not pleased to hear such things as these from this Court; for we call and justifie our selves a Court, i. e. a H. C. of Justice, authorized by the highest Court of the Kingdom, as we have often said, and tho' you endeavour what may to discourt us, yet we take knowledge of our selves to be such a Court as can administer Justice to you, and we are bound in duty to do it. Sir, all I shall say before reading Sentence is but this; the Court heartily desires, that you will seriously think of the evils you stand guilty of. Sir, the other day, you wished us to have God before our eyes; Sir, I hope all of us have so, that God that we know is a K. of K's, and L. of Lds. with whom is no respect of Persons, he is the avenger of Innocent Blood, we have that God before us who bestows a Curse upon them that witholds their hands from shedding of blood, in the case of guilty Malefactors, that deserve death, that God we have before our eyes, and were it

not

not that the Conſcience of our duty hath called us to this place, and imployment. Sir, you ſhould have had no appearance of a Court here; but we muſt prefer the diſcharge of our duty to God and the Kingdom, before all other reſpects, and altho' many of us, if not all are ſeverely threatned by ſome of your Party, what they intend to do, we do here declare, that we ſhall not forbear doing our duty in adminiſtration of Juſtice even to you, according to the merit of your Offence, tho' God ſhould permit thoſe men to effect their bloody deſigns againſt us. Sir we will ſay, as thoſe Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worſhip the Golden Image that Nebuchadnezzar had ſet up, That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were near unto; but if he would not do it, yet they would not fall down and worwip the Image; we ſhall thus apply it; That tho' we ſhould not be delivered from thoſe bloody hands and hearts, that conſpire the overthrow of the Kingd: in general and us in particular, for acting in this great work of Juſtice, tho' we ſhould periſh in the work, yet by Gods grace, and ſtrength we will go on. And this is all our Reſolutions. Sir, I ſay for your ſelf we do heartily wiſh and deſire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a ſenſe of your ſins, to ſee wherein you have done amiſs that you may cry unto God to deliver you from blood guiltineſs. A good K. was once guilty of that, and clear otherwiſe, ſaving in the matter of Uriah, and the Story tells us, that he was a repentant K. and it ſignifies enough that he had dyed for it, but that God was pleaſed to accept of him, and to give him his Pardon: Thou ſhalt not die, but the Child ſhall die, becauſe thou haſt given cauſe to the Enemies of God to blaſpheme.'

K. I would deſire only one word before you give Sentence and that is, that you would hear me concerning thoſe great imputations that you have laid to my Charge. *Pr* Sir you muſt give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now paſt. *K.* But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few words, for truly what ever Sentence you paſs in reſpect of thoſe heavy imputations I ſee by your ſpeech you have put upon me, that I Sir, it is very true that-------- *Pr.* Truly Sir, I would not willingly at this time, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay, that is proper for us to admit of, but Sir you have not owned us for a Court, and you look upon us a ſort of people met together and we know what Language we receive from your party. *K.* I know nothing of that.

Pr. You diſavow us a court, and for you to adreſs your ſelf to us and not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you ſay, it is not to be permitted: the Truth is all along, you were pleaſed to diſavow and diſown us, and the Court needed not to have heard you one word; for unleſs they be acknowledged it is not proper for

you to speak: Sir we have given you too much liberty, and admitted of too much delay, and may not admit of any further; were it proper for us we should not have declined to hear at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether in part or for totally excusing those great and heinous Charges that are laid upon you, But Sir I shall trouble you no longer. Your Sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you into a sad consideration, and may improve in you a sad and serious repentance. And the Court doth heartily wish, that you may be so Penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy at least wise upon your better part. Sir, for the other it is our Parts, to do what the Law prescribes, the Scripture says. 'To acquit the Guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the 'innocent; we may not acquit the guilty, what Sentence the Law affords to a Traitor, Tyrant, Murtherer and publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

The L. *Pr.* commands Sentence to be read. O Yes made, silence commanded. The Clerk reads the Sentence, drawn up in Parchment.

WHereas the Com. of Eng. in Par. have appointed them an H. C. of Justice for Trying C. Stuart K. of Eng: before whom he had been three times convented & at the first time a Charge of H. Treason, & other Crimes was read in behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c.

Here the Clerk read the Charge: to which the said C. Stuart was required to answer, but he refused so to do, and so expresst the several passages at his Tryal in refusing to answer. For all which Treasons and Crimes: this Court adjudges the said C. Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor and a publick Enemy to be put to Death, by severing his Head from his Body.

After Sentence the L. *Pr.* said, This Sentence now read and published, is the Act, Sentence Judgement and Resolution of the whole Court. Here the Court stood up, as assenting to what the *Pr.* said. *K.* Will you here me a word? *Pr.* Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence. *K.* No Sir? *Pr.* No Sir, by your favour Sir, Guard withdraw your Prisoner. *K.* I may speak after the Sentence------By your favour, Sir, I may speak after the Sentence ever By your favour hold the Sentence Sir --- I say Sir, I do---- I am not suffered for to speak, expect what Justice other people will have. Then the Court rose, and the K. with his Guard went to Whitehall.

The Persons that sat as Judges at the Sentencing of the K. to death were, I Bradshaw President, J. Lisle, W. Say, O. Cromwel, H. Ireton, Sr. H. Waller, *V.* Walton, *T.* Harrison, E. Whaley, T. Pride, Is. Evers, L. Gray of Groby, Sir J. Danvers, Sir T. Malevere

verer, Sir J. Bourchier, W. Haveningham, Alderman Pennington, W. Purefoy, H. Martin, J. Barkstead, J. Blakiston, G. Millington, Sir W. Constable, E. Ludlow, J. Hutchinson, Sir M. Livesay, R. Tichborn, O. Roe, R. Lilburn, A Scroop, R. Deane, J. Okey, J. Hewson, W. Goffe, C. Holland, J. Carew, J. Jones, M. Corbet, F. Allin P. Pelham, J. Moore, J. Aldred, A. Smith, H. Edwards, G. Clement, T. Wogan, Sir G. Norton, E. Harvey, J. Venn, T. Scot, T. Andrews W. Cawly, A. Stapley, J. Downes, T. Horton, T. Hammond, N. Love, V. Potter, A. Garland, J Dixwel, G. Fleetwood, S. Meyne J. Temple, P. Temple, D. Blagrave, T. White, At the H C. of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart King of England, Jan. 29. 1648.

Ordered that Sir, H. Waller, Col. Harrison, Col. Ireton, Col. Dean, and Col. Okey, are appointed a Committe to consider of the time and place for Execution of the K. according to his Sentence given by the H. C. of Justice, Upon report made from the Committee for consideration of the Executing the K. That the said Committee resolved that the open Street before Whitehall is a fit place; And that he be there Executed to morrow, the K. having already notice thereof, and this Warrant was drawn for that purpose.

WHereas C. Stuart K. of Eng. standeth convicted, Attainted and Condemned of H. Treason, and other H. Crimes, and Sentence upon Satur. last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing his head from his body; of which Sentence, Execution still remains to be done; These are to will and require you to see the said Sentence, executed in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being Jan. 30. between the hours of Ten in the morning and Five afternoon, with full effect; and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And all Officers, Souldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of Eng. are to be assisting unto you in this service. Given under our Hands and Seals, To Col. Hacker, Col. Hunks, Col. Pitray and every of them. Sealed and Subscribed by J. Bradshaw, O. Cromwel, &c.

Ordered that the Scaffold upon which the K. is to be executed be covered with black

IT was observed, that after Sentence, as the K. was going from the Court down the Stairs, some Souldiers cryed out Justice Justice, Poor Souls, said he, for a piece of money they would do as much for their Commanders. The K. lodged that night at White Hall, nd desired, since they had passed Sentence of death upon him and the time of his Execution might be nigh, that he might see his Children, and receive the Sacrament of Bishop Juxon, and be admitted

mitted to pray with him privately, which was granted. Next day being Saturday Jan. 28. The K. was guarded to St. Jameſes, where the Biſhop preached privately before him, from Rom. 2. 16. In the day when God ſhall judge the Secrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel. Next morning his Children came to him, and firſt he gave his bleſſing to his *Daughter* the Lady Elizabeth, and bid her remember to tell her Brother *James*, if ever ſhe ſaw him, That it was his Fathers laſt deſire, he ſhould ne more look upon Charles as his eldeſt Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Soveraign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Sweet heart ſaid the *K.* you will forget this, no ſaid the Lady, almoſt drowned in Tears, I ſhall never forget it while I live. The K. then took the Duke or Glocester upon his knee and ſaid, They will cut off thy Fathers head; upon which the Child looking ſtedfaſtly upon him; Mark *C*hild what I ſay they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a K. But mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a *K.* ſo long as your *B*rothers Charles and James live, for they will cut off their heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy head too at laſt; therefore I charge thee be not made a K. by them. The Child ſighing ſaid, *I* will be torn in pieces firſt, which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young pleaſed the K. extreamly. This diſcourſe was writ down by the Lady Elizabeth, who after her Fathers death, being confined in Carisbrook Caſtle, died in a few Months for grief.

On Tueſday morning Jan. 30. the K. walked from St. jameſes to White Hall, being guarded with a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, Drums beating; his guard of *P*artizans being about his Perſon, Dr. Juxon on one ſide and Col. Tomlinſon on the other bareheaded, bidding them go faſter, ſaying that he now went before them, to ſtrive for an heavenly Crown with leſs ſollicitude, than he had oft bid his Souldiers fight for an earthly Diadem. He aſcended out of the Park thro' the long Gallery into the Cabinet Chamber where he uſed to Lodge; and continued there ſome time in Devotion with the Biſhop of London, and received the Sacrament The Second Leſſon was in St. Matthew 27. containing the Paſſion of our Saviour. The *K.* not aware of it, thanked the Biſhop for ſelecting ſo ſeaſonable a Scripture, who replyed no thanks were due to him, this being the *G*oſpel appointed for that day. *Jan.* 30. The King continued at his *D*evotion refuſing to eat any thing for dinner only he drank a Glaſs of Claret and eat a bit of bread, About one after noon, he was attended by Dr. Juxon, Col. Tomlinſon and other Officers with the Guard of Partizans and Muſqueteers thro' a window of the Banqueting Houſe to the Scaffold adjoining which was covered with black, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle, ſeveral Troops of Horſe and Foot were p'aced about the Scaffold, and the Spectators were very numerous.

The

The King being come upon the Scaffold, lookt about upon the People who were kept off by the Troops of Horſe, ſo that they could not come near to hear him, ſo he omitted what he had purpoſed to have ſpoken to them; and turning to the Officers, look'd earneſtly upon the Block, and asked Col. Hacker if it were no higher; And then ſpake thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Colonel Tomlinſon.)

The laſt Speech of K. Charles *the Firſt.*

I ſhall be very little heard of any body, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here, Indeed I could hold my peace very well if I did not think it would make ſome men think, that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as the Puniſhment; but I think it is my duty to God firſt, and to my Country, to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocency; in troth I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the world knows, that I that I never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, That I never did intend to encroach upon their Privikdges, they began upon me: it is the Militia they begun upon: they confeſt the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me: and to be ſhort, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy

troubles

troubles, not I; So that as to the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God, that God will clear me of it; I will not, (I am in Charity God forbid that I should) lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; for I do believe that ill instruments between them and me, has been the chief cause of this bloodshed; so that as I find my self clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too; yet, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that Gods Judgements are just upon me.

Many times he does pay Justice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary. I will only say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me, So far have I said to shew that I am an Innocent man.

*Strafford.

Now to shew you that I am a good Christian; I hope there is a good man Pointing to Dr. Juxon that will bear me witness, That I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular; that have been the chief causers of my death, who they are God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all my charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that particular. I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge, nay not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom for; my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wish with all my Soul (and I do hope there are some here ‡ will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

‡ Turning to some Gentlemen that did write.

'Now Sirs I must shew both how you are out of 'the way, For certainly all the way, you ever had 'yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way 'of Conquest Sirs, in my opinion is never just, except there be a good just cause, either for matter of wrong, or just Title, and then if you go beyond it, the first quarrel that you have to it, is it that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first; But if it be only matter of Conquest; then it is a great Robbery as a Pyrate said to Alexander, that he was the great Robber, he was but a Petty Robbery and so, Sir I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way. Now, Sir To put you in one way believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you until you give God his due, the King his due, that is my Successors, and the People their due. I am as much for them as any of you: You must give God his due by regulating rightly his Church according to his Scriptures which is now out of order. To set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but only this, A National Sinod freely called; freely debating among themselves

'selves, must settle this; when every opinion is freely and clearly 'heard. For the King indeed I will not (Then turning to 'a Gentleman that touched the Ax; said, Hurt not the Ax that 'may hurt ‡ me) For the King the laws of the Land 'will clearly instruct you for that: therefore, be- ‡Meaning if 'cause it concerns my own particular, I only give he did blunt 'you a touch of it. As for the People: truly I desire the edge. 'their Liberty and freedom as much as any body who- 'soever, but I must tell you, that their Liberty and freedom con- 'sists in having a Government and those Laws by which their 'Life and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for ha- 'ving share in Government Sirs that is nothing pertaining to them. 'A Subject and a Soveraign are clear different things, and there- 'fore until they do that, I mean that you do put the People in that 'Liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

'Sirs, It was for this that now I am come here; *If I* would have 'given way to an Arbitrary way, for to havr all Laws changed 'according to the Power of the Sword, *I* needed not to have 'come here; and therefore *I* tell you (and *I* pray God it be not 'laid to your charge) that *I* am the Martyr of the People. *In* troth 'Sirs, *I* shall not hold you much longer, *I* will only say this to you 'that in truth *I* could have desired some little time longer, because 'I would have put this that *I* have said in a little more order, 'and a little better digested than *I* have done, and therefore I 'hope you will excuse me. *I* have delivered my Conscience, I 'pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good 'of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Dr. Juxon. Will your Majesty tho' it may be very well known, your Majesties affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the Worlds satisfaction.

King. 'I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for *I* had almost 'forgot it. *In* troth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion *I* think is ve- 'ry well known to all the World, and therefore *I* declare before 'you all, That I dye a Christian according to the Profession of the 'Church of England, as I found it left by my Father 'and this honest man * *I* think will witness it. Then * Pointing to 'turning to the Officers. said, Sirs excuse me for *Dr.* Juxon. 'this same, I have a good cause, and I have a gra- 'cious God and I will say no more. Then turning to Col. Hacker 'he said; take care they do not put me to pain, and Sir, this and 'it please you, *But* then a Gendeman coming near the Ax, the 'King said, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. 'Then the King speaking to the Executioner, said, I shall say but 'very short Prayer. and when *I* thrust out my hands------ Then the King called to Dr, Juxon, for his night Cap and having put it on

he

he ſaid to the Executioner, Does my Hair trouble you? who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the *Biſhop*; Then the King turning to Dr. Juxon, ſaid; *I* have a good cauſe and a gracious God on my ſide. Doctor *Juxon*. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great way; *It* will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort. *King*. *I* go from a corruptable to an incoruptable Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World. Doctor *Juxon*. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange. The King then ſaid to the Executioner, is my Hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor Juxon, ſaying Remember (*It* is thought to give it to the Prince.) Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, You muſt ſet it faſt. *Executioner*, *It* is faſt *Sir*. *King*. When *I* put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out then.----------

After that, having ſaid two or three words(as he ſtood) to himſelf, with hands and eyes lifted up; Immediately ſtooping down laid his Neck upon thd *Block*: and then the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, tbe King ſaid)thinking he had been going to ſtrike) Stay for the ſign. *Executioner*, Yes, I will and it pleaſe your Majeſty. After a litte pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his *Body*. The head being off, the Executioner held it up to the People.

Then the Head and *Body* were put into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and after into another of Lead; and being imbalmed, lay at St. James's a fortnight to be viewed. Then it being delivered to ſome of the Kings Servants, they with others attended the Hearſe to *Windſor* Caſtle, and placed it in the Deans Hall hanged with black. and Lights burning about it. Here it remained till the D. of Lenox and ſome others, had got an Order from the Parliament for the decent Interment of the King, the expence not to exceed 500 pound. This Order they ſhewed to Col. Whitchcot the Governour, deſiring it might be buried in St Georges Chappel and by the *Book* of Common Prayer: the laſt he refuſed ſince the Parliament aboliſhed it. So they diſcovered a Vault in the middle of the Quire, thought to be that of *K*. Hen. 8 and Q. Jane Seymour, both in Leaden Coffins. And the Body of the King being born by the Officers of the Garriſon, and the Pall held up by 4 Peers: Dr. Juxon Biſhop of London, and other Perſons of Quality following, It was their committed to the Earth. The Velvet Pall being caſt into the Vault, was laid over the Coffin, upon which theſe words were put. *KING CHARLES*. 1648.

APPENDIX.

THE Prevailing Power in the House of Commons, consisting of an inconsiderable number, having with the assistance of the Army perpetrated this unparalel'd Act: they then proceed to extirpate Monarchy it self, and introduce a Free State or Commonwealth, publishing a Proclamation; That whereas several Pretences might be made to the Crown, to the apparent hazard of the Publick Peace; no person should presume to proclaim or promote Charles Stuart, eldest Son to the late King; or any other person, be King or chief Magistrate, without the free consent of the People in Parliament, under the Penalty of being High Treason.

This proceeding was founded upon this Maxim, that all power and authority is Originally in the People, They next declare, That those Members who had Voted, that the Kings Concessions were a ground of Peace: should never be re-admitted into the House.

Soon after the House of Peers desiring a Conference about setling the Government, the Judges Commissions being expired; instead of an Answer, they Voted the House of Lords to be useless and dangerous; only the Lords were allowed the Priviledge to be chosen Members of the House of Commons. The Peers being highly incensed, publish a Declaration in the name of all the People of England, against the proceedings of the Commons. And yet some bold Persons promote a Proclamation for declaring, Charles 2. to be King.

But unarmed Declarations could prevail little against an Armed Power, who now assumed new Ensigns of Soveraignty, causing all Writs, Commissions, &c. to be issued out in the name of, The Keepers of the Liberties of England, by Authority of Parliament; The old Great Seal was broken, and a new one made, with the Arms of England and Ireland on one side, and the House of Commons on the other; with this inscription; In the first year of Freedom by Gods blessing restored, 1648. And money is coined with the same Arms, and this Motto, God with us. The King Arms were pluckt down, and his Picture at the Royal Exchange removed, and this Inscription set up in the Place, in Letters of Gold, Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ Restitutæ Primo, Anno 1648. Janu. 30 die. The Tyrant is gone, the last of Kings, in the first year of Englands Liberty Restored. A new High Court of Justice is erected, by whom D. Hamilton, E. of Holland, L. Capel and L. Goring are Tryed, and the three

first

firſt condemned and executed. The L. Fairfax lays down his Commiſſion, and L. G. Cromwel ſucceeds him, who was ſent into Ireland and proved very ſucceſsful. The Junto or Remnant of the Long Parliament, ſell the King and Queens Lands, and make an Act for aboliſhing Kingly Government as unneceſſary, burdenſom and dangerous, diſinheriting the Royal Family. And declare the Government to be in a Common Wealth or Free State; for refuſing to Proclaim this Act, Reynardſon L. Mayor, and 3 other Aldermen, were committed to the Tower; and a new Lord Mayor choſe who proclaimed it in ſeveral parts of London.

The Marqueſs of Ormnod cloſing with the Iriſh. he with ſeveral other of the old Commanders, having a conſiderable Army, endeavoured to reduce all places in Ireland that held out for the Engliſh Republick, many were ſurrendred, but Dublin being defended by Col. Jones, the Confederates beſiege it June 29. 1649. But the Beſieged obſerving the Careleſs poſture of their Enemies, iſſued out upon them, and with an inconſiderable ſtrength routed their whole Army of near 20000 men; Ormond himſelf hardly eſcaping. Cromwel came over ſoon after, and beſieged Drogedah or Tredagh, which he took, and made great ſlaughter. Then Wexford and ſeveral other places were taken, ſo that within a year all Iteland was ſubdued to the Engliſh Commonwealth. The Kings Fleet under P. Rupert is ruined, and P. Maurice caſt away. The Scots now ſend to treat with King Charles at St. Germains in France, and their Parliament require him to take the ſolemn League and Covenant, and put away all Papiſts about him; during which Treaty, Montroſs was ſiezed in Scotland, for oppoſing the Kirk Party, and hanged upon a Gibet 60 foot high to the great Regret of the King.

King Charles 2d. had ſent Ambaſſadors from France to Moſco, Venice, Germany, &c. To ſollicite Aid for recovering his Kingdoms, yet received little but complements in return: Sir H. Hyde was ſent to Turkey, but by the Engliſh Ambaſſadors Intereſt there was ſent over and beheaded at the Royal Exchange. L. Cottington, and Sir Edw. Hyde, were ſent to Spain with this Embaſſy; 'That the Parliamentof England having been in Arms againſt the 'King his Father, had prevailed againſt him and put him to death; 'That he being his Son and Heir was by the ſame Power kept out 'of his Kingdoms; That he deſired that Kings aſſiſtance, to eſta-'bliſh him in his Rights and Dignities. The King of Spain replyed; 'That he was ſorry for his Fathers ill ſucceſs, wiſhing he had 'been more proſperous, and condoled with him, both for his Fa-'thers death and the manner of it; That the Right betwixt his

Parliament

Parliament and him being matters out of his Jurisdiction, he could take no Cognizance of them, nor would meddle therein; but within his own Dominions, he would willingly do him all the lawful Favours he was able. Soon after the King of Spain owned the English Parliament, being the first Forreign Power that desired to enter into League with them.

The Parliament hearing of the Scots Transactions with the King, send an Army thither under General Cromwel: King Charles having complyed with the Scots Terms, landed in the North of Scotland, and was proclaimed and Crowned King, July 15. 1656. At Musleborough the English obtained a confiderable Victory over the Scots. And Cromwel had afterward many great successes against them, so that the King seeing the English so prevail, quitted Scotland and marched into England, and at Worcester was totally defeated, his Army being absolutely broken, and himself forced to save his life in an Oak, till he could get Passage to France. At this time Mr. Love a Minister and Mr. Gibbons were eXecuted at Tower hill for abetting the Kings Interest. The Earl of Derby is beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire.

April 20. 1653. Oliver Cromwel and the Army, dissolved the Long Parliament, which had sat 12 years, 6 months, and 17 days. This year and the next were five bloody Engagements at Sea against the Dutch; in which the English were Victorious. Cromwel now called another junto of Persons nominated and summoned by himself, which was termed the Little Parliament; who sat some short time, and then surrendred their Power to him again. And Dec. 16. this year, Cromwel was sworn *L.* Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and so the Government was again in a single Person. He concluded Peace with the Dutch and proclaimed War with Spain, sending over Forces to assist the French in Flanders, and thereby gained Dunkirk to the English Government. Mr. Vowel and Col. Getrard, and afterward Sir H. Slingsby, Doctor Hewet, and others were Executed, for contriving the Restoration of K. Charles 2. In 1656. Cromwel by a Parliament garbled to his mind was installed. Protector in Westminster Hall; And Sept. 3. 1658. He died L. at White hall, and was pompously buried

His Son Richard succeeded, but was soon put out of his Protectorship by the Officers of the Army, who again call together the Junto or the Remainder of the Long Parliament. Sir G. Booth, and other Gentlemen in Cheshire, rise in Arms for the King but are suppresst. The Army distasted at these proceedings of the Parliament turn them ont again, and erect a Government which they called, the Committee of Safety.

These Revolutions much dissatisfied the Nation and G. Monk Governour of Scotland, is sent with the blessiing of the Scots kirk England with an Army: Lambert marches against him, but his men were unwilling to engage. Mean time the Junto had got together again: dissolved the Committee of Safety, and invited G. Monk to march to London, where he soon procured the Parliament to be dissolved, and writs to be issued out by them, for calling another, April 25. 1660. Who being met, the K. sent Letters to the Lords, Commons, and Gen. Monk from Breda, together with a Declaration of Pardon, and for Liberty of Conscience; hereupon the Parliament vote hes Restoration, and accordingly, May the 29th. the King, the D. of York and Glocester, made their solemn entrance through London.

In October following 10 of the late Kings Judges were executed, namely, T. Harrison. J. Carew, A. Scroop, J. Jones, G. Clement, T. Scot, J. Cook, F. Hacker, D. Axtel with *H.* Petes a Minister. This year Mary Princess of Orange, coming from Holland to visit her Brother, died of the mall Pox. Venner a Wine-Cooper with other Enthusiasts, made an Insurrection in the City, but were defeated and 12 of them Executed. In 1661. the D. of Glocester died of the small Pox, April 23. King Charles was Crowned with great magnificence at Westminster.

I seems altogether needless to proceede any farther, becaus*e I* have published 3 or 4 other Books, (each of the same Price with this) where in the Reader may fully satisfie himself in all particulars from the death of K. Charles 1. 1648. to this time, the names of which are.

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